HISTORY

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DECLINE AND FALL

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ROMAN EMPIRE.

By EDWARD GIBBON, Efq;

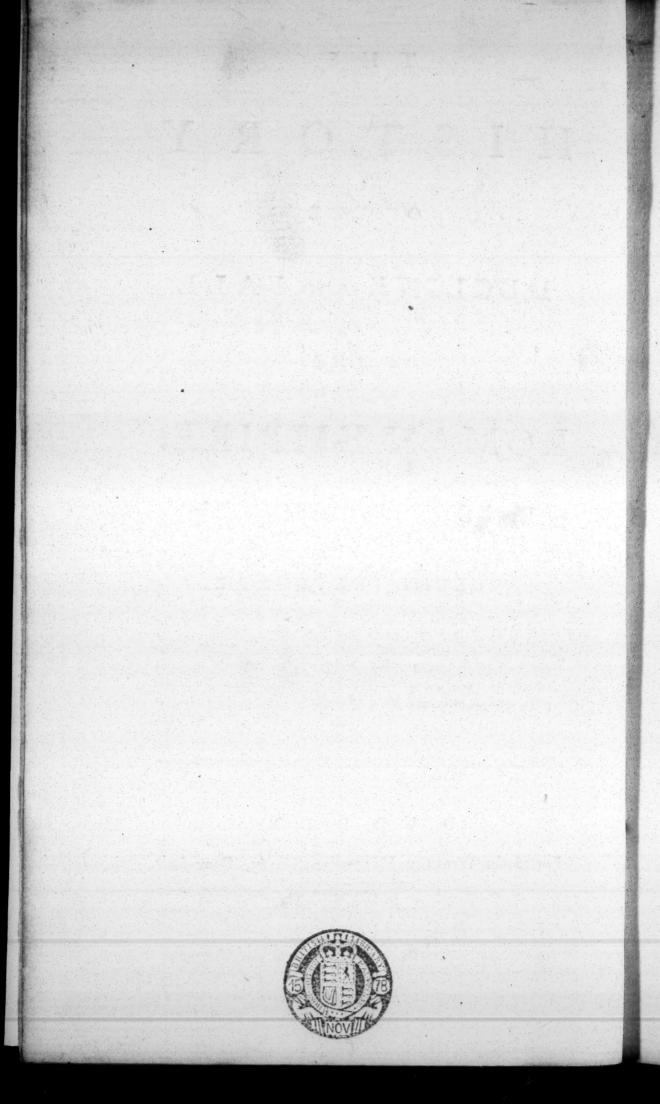
VOLUME THE FOURTH.

Jam provideo animo, velut qui, proximis littori vadis inducti, mare pedibus ingrediuntur, quicquid progreditur, in vastiorem me altitudinem, ac velut profundum invehi; et crescere pene opus, quod prima quæque perficiendo minui videbatur.

D UB. LIN:

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MDCC LXXXI.



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HISTORY

OF THE

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CHAP. XXII.

Julian is declared Emperor by the Legions of Gaul.

—His March and Success.—The Death of Confrantius.—Civil Administration of Julian.

While the Romans languished under the jealousy the ignominious tyranny of eunuchs and of Constantius against bishops, the praises of Julian were repeated with Julian. transport in every part of the empire, except in the palace of Constantius. The Barbarians of Germany had felt, and still dreaded, the arms of the young Cæsar; his soldiers were the companions of his victory; the grateful provincials enjoyed the blessings of his reign; but the favourites, who had opposed his elevation, were offended by his virtues; and they justly considered the friend of the people as the enemy of the court. As long as the same of Julian was Vol. IV.

B doubtful,

doubtful, the buffoons of the palace, who were skilled in the language of satire, tried the efficacy of those arts which they had so often practised with success. They easily discovered, that his fimplicity was not exempt from affectation: the ridiculous epithets of an hairy favage, of an ape invested with the purple, were applied to the drefs and person of the philosophic warrior; and his modest dispatches were stigmatized as the vain and elaborate fictions of a loquacious Greek, a speculative foldier, who had fludied the art of war amidst the groves of the academy (1). The voice of malicious folly was at length filenced by the shouts of victory; the conqueror of the Franks and Alemanni could no longer be painted as an object of contempt; and the monarch himself was meanly ambitious of stealing from his lieutenant the honourable reward of his labours. In the letters crowned with laurel, which, according to ancient custom, were addressed to the provinces, the name of Julian was omitted. "Constantius had made his dispositions in person; be had signalized " his valour in the foremost ranks; his military " conduct had fecured the victory; and the " captive king of the Barbarians was presented " to bim on the field of battle," from which he was at that time distant above forty days journey.

⁽¹⁾ Omnes qui plus poterant in palatio, adulandi professores jam docti, recte consulta, prospereque completa vertebant in deridiculum: talia sine modo strepentes insulse; in odium venit cum victoriis suis; capella, non homo; ut hirsutum Julianum carpentes, appellantesque loquacem talpam, et purpuratam simiam, et litterionem Græcum: et his congruentia plurima atque vernacula principi resonantes, audire hæc taliaque gestienti, virtutes ejus obruere verbis impudentibus conabantur, ut segnem incessentes et timidum et umbratilem, gestaque secus verbis comptioribus exernantem. Ammianus, xvii. 11.

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So extravagant a fable was incapable, however, of deceiving the public credulity, or even of fatisfying the pride of the emperor himself. Secretly conscious that the applause and favour of the Romans accompanied the rifing fortunes of Julian, his discontented mind was prepared to receive the fubtle poison of those artful sycophants, who coloured their mischievous deligns with the fairest appearances of truth and candour (3). Instead of depreciating the merits of Julian, they acknowledged, and even exaggerated, his popular fame, superior talents, and important fervices. But they darkly infinuated, that the virtues of the Cæfar might instantly be converted into the most dangerous crimes; if the inconstant multitude should prefer their inclinations to their duty; or if the general of a victorious army should be tempted from his allegiance by the hopes of re-The pervenge, and independent greatness. fonal fears of Constantius were interpreted by Fears and his council as a laudable anxiety for the public conflantiue. fafety; whilst in private, and perhaps in his own breaft, he disguised, under the less odious appellation of fear, the sentiments of hatred and envy, which he had fecretly conceived for the inimitable virtues of Julian.

B 2 The

(2) Ammian, xvi. 12. The orator Themissius (iv. p. \$6. 57.) believed whatever was contained in the Imperial letters, which were addressed to the senate of Constantinople. Aurelius Victor, who published his Abridgment in the last year of Constantius, ascribes the German victories to the wisdom of the emperor, and the fortune of the Cæsar. Yet the historian, soon asterwards, was indebted to the savour or esteem of Julian for the honour of a brass statue; and the important offices of consular of the second Pannonia, and præsect of the city. Ammian, xxi. 10.

(3) Callido nocendi artificio, accusatoriam divitatem laudum titulis peragebant... Hæ voces suerunt ad inslammanda odia probris omnibus potentiores. See Mamertin. in Actione Gratiarum in Vet Panegyraxi. 5. 6.

The legions of Gaul are. A. D. 360, April.

The apparent tranquillity of Gaul, and the ordered to imminent danger of the eastern provinces, ofmarch into fered a specious pretence for the design which was artfully concerted by the Imperial ministers. They resolved to disarm the Cæsar; to recall those faithful troops who guarded his person and dignity; and to employ in a diffant war against the Persian monarch, the hardy veterans who had vanquished, on the banks of the Rhine, the fiercest nations of Germany. While Julian used the laborious hours of his winter-quarters at Paris in the administration of power, which, in his hands, was the exercise of virtue, he was surprifed by the hafty arrival of a tribune and a notary; with positive orders from the emperor, which they were directed to execute, and he was commanded not to oppose. Constantius signified his pleasure, that four entire legions, the Celtæ, and Petulants, the Heruli, and the Batavians, should be separated from the standard of Julian, under which they had acquired their fame and discipline; that in each of the remaining bands, three hundred of the bravest youths should be selected; and that this numerous detachment, the strength of the Gallic army, should instantly begin their march, and exert their utmost diligence to arrive, before the opening of the campaign, on the frontiers of Persia (4). The Cæfar forefaw, and lamented, the confequences of this fatal mandate. Most of the auxiliaries. who engaged their voluntary fervice, had flipu-

⁽⁴⁾ The minute interval, which may be interposed between the byeme adulta and the prime were of Ammianus (xx. 1. 4.), instead of allowing a fufficient space for a march of three thousand miles, would render the orders of Constantius as extravagant as they were unjust. The troops of Gaul could not have reached Syria till the end of autumn. The memory of Ammianus must have been inaccurate, and his language incorrect.

lated, that they should never be obliged to pass the Alps. The public faith of Rome, and the personal honour of Julian, had been pledged for the observance of this condition. Such an act of treachery and oppression would destroy the confidence, and excite the refentment, of the independent warriors of Germany, who confidered truth as the noblest of their virtues, and freedom as the most valuable of their possessions. The legionaries, who enjoyed the title and privileges of Romans, were enlifted for the general defence of the republic; but those mercenary troops heard with cold indifference the antiquated names of the republic and of Rome. Attached, either from birth or long habit, to the climate and manners of Gaul, they loved and admired Julian; they despised, and perhaps hated, the emperor; they dreaded the laborious march, the Persian arrows, and the burning deferts of Asia. They claimed, as their own, the country which they had faved; and excused their want of spirit, by pleading the sacred and more immediate duty of protecting their families and friends. The apprehensions of the Gauls were derived from the knowledge of the impending and inevitable danger. As foon as the provinces were exhausted of their military strength, the Germans would violate a treaty which had been imposed on their fears; and notwithstanding the abilities and valour of Julian, the general of a nominal army, to whom the public calamities would be imputed, must find himself after a vain resistance, either a prifoner in the camp of the Barbarians, or a criminal in the palace of Constantius. If Julian complied with the orders which he had received, he subscribed his own destruction, and that of a people

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people who deserved his affection. But a positive refusal was an act of rebellion, and a declaration of war. The inexorable jealousy of the emperor, the peremptory, and perhaps infidious, nature of his commands, left not any room for a fair apology, or candid interpretation; and the dependent station of the Cæfar scarcely allowed him to pause or to deliberate. Solitude encreased the perplexity of Julian; he could no longer apply to the faithful counsels of Sallust, who had been removed from his office by the judicious malice of the eunuchs: he could not even enforce his representations by the concurrence of the ministers, who would have been afraid, or ashamed, to approve the ruin of Gaul: The moment had been chosen, when Lupicinus (5), the general of the cavalry, was dispatched into Britain, to repulse the inroads of the Scots and Picts; and Florentius was occupied at Vienna by the affessment of the tribute. latter, a crafty and corrupt statesman, declining to assume a responsible part on this dangerous occasion, eluded the pressing and repeated invitations of Julian, who represented to him, that in every important measure, the presence of the præfect was indispensable in the council of the prince. In the mean while the Cæfar was oppressed by the rude and importunate solicitations of the Imperial messengers, who presumed to fuggest, that if he expected the return of his minifters, he would charge himself with the guilt

⁽⁵⁾ Ammianus, xx. 1. The valour of Lupicinus, and his military skill, are acknowledged by the historian, who, in his affected language, accuses the general of exalting the horns of his pride, bellowing in a tragic tone, and exciting a doubt, whether he was more cruel or avaricious. The danger from the Scots and Picts was so serious, that Julian himself had some thoughts of passing over into the island.

of the delay, and referve for them the merit of the execution. Unable to resist, unwilling to comply, Julian expressed, in the most serious terms, his wish, and even his intention of resigning the purple, which he could not preserve with honour, but which he could not abdicate

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After a painful conflict, Julian was compelled to acknowledge, that obedience was the virtue of the most eminent subject, and that the love-Their disreign alone was entitled to judge of the public contents. welfare. He issued the necessary orders for carrying into execution the commands of Constantius; a part of the troops began their march for the Alps; and the detachments from the feveral garrisons moved towards their respective places of affembly. They advanced with difficulty through the trembling and affrighted crowds of provincials; who attempted to excite their pity by filent despair, or loud lamentations; while the wives of the foldiers, holding their infants in their arms, accused the desertion of their husbands in the mixed language of grief, of tenderness, and of indignation. This scene of general diffress afflicted the humanity of the Cæsar; he granted a fufficient number of post-waggons to transport the wives and families of the soldiers (6), endeavoured to alleviate the hardships which he was constrained to inflict, and encreafed, by the most laudable arts, his own popularity, and the discontent of the exiled troops. The grief of an armed multitude is foon converted into rage; their licentious murmurs, which

⁽⁶⁾ He granted them the permission of the cursis clavularis, or clabularis. These post-waggons are often mentioned in the Code, and were supposed to carry sisteen hundred pounds weight. See Vales. ad Ammian.

which every hour were communicated from tent to tent with more boldness and effect, prepared their minds for the most daring acts of sedition; and by the connivance of their tribunes, a seafonable libel was fecretly dispersed, which painted, in lively colours the difgrace of the Cæfar, the oppression of the Gallic army, and the feeble vices of the tyrant of Asia. The servants of Constantius were assonished and alarmed by the progress of this dangerous spirit. They pressed the Cæsar to hasten the departure of the troops; but they imprudently rejected the honest and judicious advice of Julian; who proposed that they should not march through Paris, and suggested the danger and temptation of a last interview.

They proclaim Julian emperor.

As foon as the approach of the troops was announced, the Cæfar went out to meet them, and ascended his tribunal, which had been erected in a plain before the gates of the city. After distinguishing the officers and soldiers, who by their rank or merit deserved a peculiar attention, Julian addressed himself in a studied oration to the furrounding multitude: he celebrated their exploits with grateful applause; encouraged them to accept, with alacrity, the honour of ferving under the eyes of a powerful and liberal monarch; and admonished them, that the commands of Augustus required an instant and cheerful obedience. The foldiers, who were apprehensive of offending their general by an indecent clamour, or of belying their sentiments by false and venal acclamations, maintained an obstinate silence; and, after a short pause, were dismissed to their quarters. The principal officers were entertained by the Cæfar, who professed, in the warmest language

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of friendship, his defire and his inability to reward, according to their deferts, the brave companions of his victories. They retired from the feast, full of grief and perplexity; and lamented the hardship of their fate, which tore them from their beloved general and their native country. The only expedient which could prevent their separation was boldly agitated and approved; the popular refentment was infenfibly moulded into a regular conspiracy; their just reasons of complaint were heightened by paifion, and their passions were instamed by wine; as on the eve of their departure, the troops were indulged in licentious festivity. At the hour of midnight, the impetuous multitude, with fwords, and bowls, and torches, in their hands, rushed into the fuburbs; encompassed the palace (7); and, careless of future dangers, pronounced the fatal and irrevocable words, Julian Augus-Tus! The prince, whose anxious suspence was interrupted by their diforderly acclamations, fecured

(7) Most probably the palace of the baths (Thermarum), of which a solid and losty hall still subsists in the rue de la Harpe. The buildings covered a considerable space of the modern quarter of the university; and the gardens, under the Merovingian kings, communicated with the abbey of St. Germain dez Prez. By the injuries of time and the Normans, this ancient palace was reduced, in the twelfth century, to a maze of ruins; whose dark recesses were the scene of licentious love.

Explicat aula finus montemque amplectitur alis;

Multiplici latebra scelerum tersura ruborem.

Celatura nefas, Venerisque accommoda furtis.

(These lines are quoted from the Architrenius, l. iv. c. 8, a poetical work of John de Hauteville, or Hanville, a Monk of St. Albans, about the year 1190. See Warton's History of English Poetry, vol. 1. differt. ii.) Yet such thesis might be less pernicious to mankind, than the theological disputes of the Sorbonne. which have been since agitated on the same ground. Bonamy, Mem. de l'Academie, tom. xv. p. 678—682.

cured the doors against their intrusion; and, as long as it was in his power, feeluded his person and dignity from the accidents of a nocturnal At the dawn of day, the foldiers, whose zeal was irritated by opposition, forcibly entered the palace, feized, with respectful violence, the object of their choice, guarded Julian with drawn fwords through the streets of Paris, placed him on the tribunal, and with repeated shouts faluted him as their emperor. Prudence, as well as loyalty, inculcated the propriety of relifting their treasonable designs; and of preparing for his oppressed virtue, the excuse of violence. Addressing himself by turns to the multitude and to individuals, he fometimes implored their mercy, and fometimes expressed his indignation; conjured them not to fully the fame of their immortal victories; and ventured to promise, that if they would immediately return to their allegiance, he would undertake to obtain from the emperor, not only a free and gracious pardon, but even the revocation of the orders which had excited their refentment. But the foldiers, who were conscious of their guilt, chose rather to depend on the gratitude of Julian, than on the clemency of the emperor. Their zeal was infenfibly turned into impatience, and their impatience into rage. The inflexible Cæfar fustained till the third hour of the day, their prayers, their reproaches, and their menaces; nor did he yield, till he had been repeatedly affured, that if he wished to live, he must consent to reign. He was exalted on a shield in the presence, and amidst the unanimous acclamations, of the troops; a rich military collar, which was offered

by chance, supplied the want of a diadem (8); the ceremony was concluded by the promise of a moderate donative (9); and the new emperor, overwhelmed with real or affected grief, retired into the most secret recesses of his apartment (10).

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The grief of Julian could proceed only from His protefhis innocence; but his innocence must appear tations of inextremely doubtful (11) in the eyes of those who nocence.
have learned to suspect the motives and the professions of princes. His lively and active mind
was susceptible of the various impressions of hope
and fear, of gratitude and revenge, of duty and
of ambition, of the love of fame and of the fear
of reproach. But it is impossible for us to calculate the respective weight and operation of these
sentiments; or to ascertain the principles of action, which might escape the observation, while
they guided, or rather impelled, the steps of
Julian himself. The discontent of the troops
was produced by the malice of his enemies;

(8) Even in this tumultuous moment, Julian attended to the forms of superstitious ceremony; and obstinately resused the inauspicious use of a female necklace, or a horse-collar, which the impatient soldiers would have employed in the room of a diadem.

(9) An equal proportion of gold and filver, five pieces of the former, one pound of the latter; the whole amounting to about five pounds ten shillings of our money.

(10) For the whole narrative of this revolt, we may appeal to authentic and original materials; Julian himself (ad S. P. Q. Atheniensem, p. 282, 283, 284.), Libanius (Orat. Parental. c. 44-48. in Fabricius Bibliot. Grac. tom. vii. p. 269.—273), Ammianus (xx. 4.), and Zosmus (l. iii. p. 131, 152, 153.), who in the reign of Julian, appears to follow the more respectable authority of Eunapius. With such guides, we might neglect the abbreviators and ecclesiastical historians.

(11) Eutropius, a respectable witness, uses a doubtful Expression, "consensu militum" (v. 15.). Gregory Nazianzen, whose ignorance might excuse his fanaticism, directly charges the apostate with presumption, madness, and impious rebellion, μυθαδεια, απονοια, ασεδεία. Orat. iii. p. 67.

their tumult was the natural effect of interest and of passion; and if Julian had tried to conceal a deep defign under the appearances of chance, he must have employed the most consummate artifice without necessity, and probably without fuccess. He solemnly declares, in the presence of Jupiter, of the Sun, of Mars, of Minerva, and of all the other deities, that, till the close of the evening which preceded his elevation, he was utterly ignorant of the defigns of the foldiers (12); and it may feem ungenerous to distrust the honour of a hero, and the truth of a philosopher. Yet the superstitious confidence that Constantius was the enemy, and that he himfelf was the favourite, of the gods, might prompt him to defire, to folicit, and even to haften the auspicious moment of his reign, which was predestined to restore the ancient religion of mankind. When Julian had received the intelligence of the conspiracy, he resigned himself to a short slumber; and afterwards related to his friends, that he had seen the Genius of the empire waiting with some impatience at his door, pressing for admittance, and reproaching his want of spirit and ambition (13). Astonished and perplexed, he addressed his prayers to the great

(12) Julian. ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 284. The devout Abbé de la Bleterie (Vie de Julien, p. 159.) is almost inclined to respect the devout protestations of a Pagan.

⁽¹³⁾ Ammian. xz. 5. with the note of Lindenbrogius on the Genius of the empire. Julian himself, in a considential letter to his friend and physician, Oribasius (Epist. xvii. p. 384.), mentions another dream, to which, before the event, he gave credit; of a stately tree thrown to the ground, of a small plant striking a deep root into the earth. Even in his sleep, the mind of the Cæsar must have been agitated by the hopes and fears of his fortune. Zosimus (l. iii. p. 155.) relates a subsequent dream,

great Jupiter; who immediately fignified, by a clear and manifest omen, that he should submit to the will of heaven and of the army. The conduct which disclaims the ordinary maxims of reason, excites our suspicion and eludes our enquiry. Whenever the spirit of fanaticism, at once so credulous and so crafty, has infinuated itself into a noble mind, it insensibly corrodes the vital principles of virtue and veracity.

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the persons of his enemies (14), to defeat and to to Constandespise the secret enterprises which were formed against his life and dignity, were the cares which employed the first days of the reign of the new Emperor. Although he was firmly refolved to maintain the station which he had assumed, he was still defirous of faving his country from the calamities of civil war, of declining a contest with the superior forces of Constantius, and of preserving his own character from the reproach of perfidy and ingratitude. Adorned with the enfigns of military and Imperial pomp, Julian shewed himself in the field of Mars to the foldiers, who glowed with ardent enthusiasm in the cause of their pupil, their leader, and their friend. He recapitulated their victories, lamented their sufferings, applauded their resolution, animated their hopes, and checked their impetuofity; nor did he difmiss the assembly, till he had obtained a folemn promise from the troops, that if the emperor of the east would subscribe an equitable treaty, they would renounce any views of conquest, and satisfy themselves with

⁽¹⁴⁾ The difficult fituation of the prince of a rebellious army is finely described by Tacitus (Hist. r. 80-85.). But Otho had much more guilt, and much less abilities, than Julian.

the tranguil possession of the Gallic provinces. On this foundation he composed, in his own name, and in that of the army, a specious and moderate epiftle (15), which was delivered to Pentadius, his master of the offices, and to his chamberlain Eutherius; two ambassadors whom he appointed to receive the answer, and observe the dispositions of Constantius. This epistle is inscribed with the modest appellation of Cæsar; but Julian folicits in a peremptory though respectful manner, the confirmation of the title of. Augustus. He acknowledges the irregularity of his own election, while he justifies, in some measure, the resentment and violence of the troops which had extorted his reluctant confent. He allows the supremacy of his brother Constantius; and engages to fend him an annual prefent of Spanish horses, to recruit his army with a felect number of Barbarian youths, and to accept from his choice a Prætorian præfect of approved discretion and fidelity. But he reserves for himfelf the nomination of his other civil and military officers, with the troops, the revenue, and the fovereignty of the provinces beyond the Alps. He admonishes the emperor to consult the dictates of justice; to distrust the arts of those venal flatterers, who subsist only by the discord of princes; and to embrace the offer of a fair and honourable treaty, equally advantageous to the republic, and to the house of Constantine. this negociation Julian claimed no more than he already possessed. The delegated authority which he had long exercised over the provinces of Gaul.

⁽¹⁵⁾ To this oftensible epistle he added, says Ammianus, private letters, objurgatorias et mordaces, which the historian had not seen, and would not have published. Perhaps they never existed.

Gaul, Spain, and Britain, was still obeyed under a name more independent and august. The soldiers and the people rejoiced in a revolution which was not stained even with the blood of the guilty. Florentius was a fugitive; Lupicinus a prisoner. The persons who were disaffected to the new government were disarmed and secured; and the vacant offices were distributed, according to the recommendation of merit, by a prince, who despised the intrigues of the palace, and the clamours of the soldiers (16).

The negociations of peace were accompanied His fourth and supported by the most vigorous preparati-and fifth exons for war. The army, which Julian held in peditions bereadiness for immediate action, was recruited Rhine, and augmented by the disorders of the times. 361.

The cruel persecution of the faction of Magnentius had filled Gaul with numerous bands of outlaws and robbers. They chearfully accepted the offer of a general pardon from a prince whom they could trust, submitted to the restraints of military discipline, and retained only their implacable hatred to the person and government of Constantius (17). As soon as the season of the year permitted Julian to take the field, he appeared at the head of his legions; threw a bridge over the Rhine in the neighbourhood of Cleves; and prepared to chastise the persidy of the Attuarii, a tribe of Franks, who presumed

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⁽¹⁶⁾ See the first transactions of his reign, in Julian ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 285, 286. Ammianus, xx. 5. 8. Liban. Orat. Parent. c. 49, 56. p. 273,—275.

⁽¹⁷⁾ Liban. Orat. Parent. c. 50. p. 275, 276. A strange disorder, fince it continued above seven years. In the factions of the Greek republics, the exiles amounted to 20,000 persons; and Issocrates assures Philip, that it would be easier to raise an army from the vagabonds than from the cities. See Hume's Essays, tom. 1. p. 426, 427.

that they might ravage, with impunity, the frontiers of a divided empire. The difficulty, as well as glory, of this enterprize, confifted in a laborious march; and Julian had conquered. as foon as he could penetrate into a country, which former princes had confidered as inaccessible. After he had given peace to the Barbarians, the emperor carefully visited the fortifications along the Rhine from Cleves to Bafil; furveyed with peculiar attention, the territories which he had recovered from the hands of the Alemanni, passed through Befanson(18), which had severely suffered from their fury, and fixed his head-quarters at Vienna for the enfuing winter. The barrier of Gaul was improved and strengthened with additional fortifications; and Iulian entertained fome hopes, that the Germans, whom he had so often vanquished, might, in his absence, be restrained, by the terror of his name. Vadomair (19) was the only prince of the Alemanni, whom he esteemed or feared; and while the fubtle Barbarian affected to observe the faith of treaties, the progress of his arms threatened the state with an unseasonable and dangerous war. The policy of Julian condescended to surprise the prince of the Alemanni by his own arts; and Vadomair, who, in the character

⁽¹⁸⁾ Julian (Epist. xxxviii. p. 414.) gives a short description of Vesontio, or Besançon; a rocky peninsula almost encircled by the river Doux; once a magnificent city, filled with temples, &c. now reduced to a small town, emerging however from its ruins.

⁽¹⁹⁾ Vadomair entered into the Roman service, and was promoted from a Barbarian kingdom to the military rank of duke of Phænecia. He still retained the same artful character (Ammian. xxi. 4.); but, under the reign of Valens, he signalized his valour in the Armenian war (xxix. 1.).

character of a friend, had incautiously accepted an invitation from the Roman governors, was feized in the midst of the entertainment, and fent away prisoner into the heart of Spain. Before the Barbarians were recovered from their amazement, the emperor appeared in arms on the banks of the Rhine, and once more croffing the river, renewed the deep impressions of terror and respect which had been already made

by four preceeding expeditions (20).

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The ambassadors of Julian had been instruct-Fruitless ed to execute, with the utmost diligence, their treaty and declaration important commission. But, in their passage of war, through Italy and Illyricum, they were detained A. D. 361. by the tedious and affected delays of the provincial governors; they were conducted by flow journies from Constantinople to Cæsarea in Cappadocia; and when at length they were admitted to the presence of Constantius, they found that he had already conceived from the dispatches of his own officers, the most unfavourable opinion of the conduct of Julian, and of the Gallic army. The letters were heard with impatience; the trembling messengers were dismissed with indignation and contempt; and the looks, the gestures, the furious language of the monarch, expressed the disorder of his soul. The domestic connection, which might have reconciled the brother and the husband of Helena, was recently dissolved by the death of that princess, whose pregnancy had been several times fruitless, and was at last fatal to herself (21). The empreis VOL. IV. Eusebia

(20) Ammian, xx. 10. xxi. 3. 4. Zosimus, 1. iii. p. 155.

⁽²¹⁾ Her remains were fent to Rome, and interred near those of her fister Constantina, in the suburb of the Via Nomentana. Ammian. xxi. 1. Libanius has composed a very weak apology to justify his hero from a very

Eusebia had preserved to the last moment of her life the warm, and even jealous, affection which the had conceived for Julian; and her mild influence might have moderated the refentment of a prince, who, fince her death, was abandoned to his own pattions, and to the arts of his eunuchs. But the terror of a foreign invasion obliged him to suspend the punishment of a private enemy; he continued his march towards the confines of Persia, and thought it sufficient to signify the conditions which might entitle Julian and his guilty followers to the clemency of their offend-He required, that the presumptued fovereign. ous Cæfar should expressly renounce the appellation and rank of Augustus, which he had accepted from the rebels; that he should descend to his former flation of a limited and dependent minister; that he should vest the powers of the state and army in the hands of those officers who were appointed by the Imperial court; and that he should trust his safety to the assurances of pardon, which were announced by Epictetus, a Gallic bishop, and one of the Arian favourites of Constantius. Several months were ineffectually confumed in a treaty which was negociated at the distance of three thousand miles between Paris and Antioch; and, as foon as Julian perceived that his moderate and respectful behaviour ferved only to irritate the pride of an implacable adversary, he boldly resolved to commit his life

abfurd charge; of poisoning his wife, and rewarding her physician with his mother's jewels. (See the seventh of seventeen new orations, published at Venice 1754, from a MS, in St. Mark's library, p. 117—127.) Elpidius, the Prætorian præfect of the East, to whose evidence the accuser of Julian appeals, is arraigned by Libanius, as effeminate and ungrateful; yet the religion of Elpidius is praised by Jerom (tom. i, p. 245), and his humanity by Ammianus (xxi. 6.).

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ian with ons, pub-127.) he accuungratep. 245.) and fortune to the chance of a civil war. He gave a public and military audience to the quæftor Leonas; the haughty epiftle of Constantius was read to the attentive multitude; and Julian protested, with the most flattering deference, that he was ready to relign the title of Augustus, if he could obtain the confent of those whom he acknowledged as the authors of his elevation. The faint proposal was impetuously filenced; and the acclamations of "Julian Augustus, " continue to reign, by the authority of the ar-" my, of the people, of the republic, which " you have faved," thundered at once from every part of the field, and terrified the pale ambassador of Constantius. A part of the letter was afterwards read, in which the emperor arraigned the ingratitude of Julian, whom he had invested with the honours of the purple; whom he had educated with fo much care and tenderness; whom he had preserved in his infancy, when he was left a helpless orphan; " an orphan!" interrupted Julian, who justified his cause by indulging his passions: " Does the af-" fassin of my family reproach me that I was " left an orphan? He urges me to revenge those " injuries, which I have long studied to forget." The affembly was dismissed; and Leonas, who, with some difficulty, had been protected from the popular fury, was fent back to his master, with an epiftle, in which Julian expressed, in a strain of the most vehement eloquence, the sentiments of contempt, of hatred, and of refentment, which had been suppressed and embittered by the dissimulation of twenty years. After this message, which might be considered as a signal of irreconcilable war, Julian, who, some weeks before, had celebrated the Christian festival of

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the Epiphany (22), made a public declaration that he committed the care of his fafety to the IMMORTAL GODS; and thus publickly renounced the religion, as well as the friendship, of Constantius (23).

Julian prepares to at-tack Constantius.

The fituation of Julian required a vigorous and immediate resolution. He had discovered from intercepted letters, that his adverfary, facrificing the interest of the state to that of the monarch, had again excited the Barbarians to invade the provinces of the West. The position of two magazines, one of them collected on the banks of the lake of Constance, the other formed at the foot of the Cottian Alps, seemed to indicate the march of two armies; and the fize of those magazines, each of which consisted of fix hundred thousand quarters of wheat, or rather flour (24), was a threatening evidence of the

(22) Feriarum die quem celebrantes mense Januario, Christiani Epiphania dictitant, progressus in eorum ecclesiam, solemniter numine orato discessit. Ammian. xxi. 2. Zonaras observes, that it was on Christmasday, and his affertion is not inconfistent; since the churches of Egypt, Asia, and perhaps Gaul, celebrated on the same day (the sixth of January), the nativity and the baptism of their Saviour. The Romans, as ignorant as their brethren of the real date of his birth, fixed the folemn festival to the 25th of December, the Brumalia, or winter solitice, when the Pagans annually celebrated the birth of the Sun. See Bingham's Antiquities of the Christian Church, l. xx. c. 4. and Beausobre Hist. Critique du Manicheisme, tom. ii. p. 690-700.

(23) The public and fecret negociations between Constantius and Julian, must be extracted, with some caution, from Julian himself (Orat. ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 286.), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 51. p. 276.), Ammianus (xx. 9.), Zosimus (l. iii. p. 154.), and even Zonaras (tom. ii. l. (iii: p. 20, 21, 22.), who, on this occasion, appears to have possessed and

used some valuable materials.

(24) Three hundred myriads, or three millions of medimni, a cornmeasure familiar to the Athenians, and which contained fix Roman modii. Julian explains, like a foldier and a statesman, the danger of his situation, and the necessity and advantages of an offensive war (ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 286, 387.).

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the strength and numbers of the enemy, who prepared to furround him. But the Imperial legions were still in their distant quarters of Asia; the Danube was feebly guarded; and if Julian could occupy, by a fudden incursion, the important provinces of Illyricum, he might expect that a people of foldiers would refort to his flandard, and that the rich mines of gold and filver would contribute to the expences of the civil war. He proposed this bold enterprise to the affembly of the foldiers; inspired them with a just confidence in their general, and in themfelves; and exhorted them to maintain their reputation, of being terrible to the enemy, moderate to their fellow-citizens, and obedient to their officers. His spirited discourse was received with the loudest acclamations, and the fame troops which had taken up arms against Conftantius, when he fummoned them to leave Gaul, now declared with alacrity, that they would follow Julian to the farthest extremities of Europe or Asia. The oath of fidelity was administered; and the foldiers, clashing their shields, and pointing their drawn swords to their throats, devoted themselves, with horrid imprecations, to the fervice of a leader whom they celebrated as the deliverer of Gaul, and the conqueror of the Germans (25). This folemn engagement, which seemed to be dictated by affection, rather than by duty, was fingly opposed by Nebridius, who had been admitted to the office of Prætorian præfect. That faithful minifter, alone and unaffifted, afferted the rights of Constantius in the midst of an armed and angry

⁽²⁵⁾ See his oration, and the behaviour of the troops, in Ammian;

multitude, to whose fury he had almost fallen an honourable, but useless, sacrifice. After losing one of his hands by the stroke of a sword, he embraced the knees of the prince whom he had offended. Julian covered the præfect with his Imperial mantle, and protecting him from the zeal of his followers, dismissed him to his own house, with less respect than was perhaps due to the virtue of an enemy (26). The high office of Nebridius was bestowed on Sallult; and the provinces of Gaul, which were now delivered from the intolerable oppression of taxes, enjoyed the mild and equitable administration of the friend of Julian, who was permitted to practife those virtues which he had instilled into the mind of his pupil (27).

His march from the Rhine into Illyricum, The hopes of Julian depended much less on the number of his troops, than on the celerity of his motions. In the execution of a daring enterprise, he availed himself of every precaution, as far as prudence could suggest; and where prudence could no longer accompany his steps, he trusted the event to valour and to fortune. In the neighbourhood of Basil he assembled and divided his army (28). One body, which consisted of ten thousand men, was directed, under the command of Nevitta, general of the cavalry, to advance through the midland

parts

⁽²⁶⁾ He sternly refused his hand to the suppliant præsect, whom he sent into Tuscany (Ammian. xxi. 5.). Libanius, with savage sury insults Nebridius, applauds the soldiers, and almost censures the humanity of Julian (Orat. Parent. c. 53. p. 278.).

⁽²⁷⁾ Ammian. xxi. 8. In this promotion, Julian obeyed the law which he publicly imposed on himself. Neque civiles quisquam judex nec militaris rector, alio quodam præter merita suffragante, ad potiorum veniat gradum (Ammian. xx. 5.). Absence did not weaken his regard for Sallust, with whose name (A. D. 363.) he honoured the consulthip.

⁽²⁸⁾ Ammianus (xxi. 8) ascribes the same practice, and the same motive, to Alexander the Great, and other skilful generals.

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parts of Rhætia and Noricum. A fimilar divifion of troops, under the orders of Jovius and Jovinus, prepared to follow the oblique course of the highways, through the Alps and the northern confines of Italy. The instructions to the generals were conceived with energy and precifion: to haften their march in close and compact columns, which, according to the disposition of the ground, might readily be changed into any order of battle; to secure themselves against the furprises of the night by strong posts and vigilant guards; to prevent relistance by their unexpected arrival; to elude examination by their fudden departure; to spread the opinion of their itrength, and the terror of his name; and to join their fovereign under the walls of Sirmium. For himself, Julian had reserved a more difficult and extraordinary part. He selected three thoufand brave and active volunteers, refolved, like their leader, to cast behind them every hope of a retreat: at the head of this faithful band, he tearlessly plunged into the recesses of the Marcian, or black forest, which conceals the sources of the Danube (29); and, for many days, the fate of Julian was unknown to the world. fecrecy of his march, his diligence, and vigour, furmounted every obstacle; he forced his way over mountains and moraffes, occupied the bridges or swam the rivers, pursued his direct course (30), without reflecting whether he tra-

(30) Compare Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 53. p. 278, 279, with Gregory Nazianzen, Orat. iii. p. 68. Even the faint admires the speed and se-

⁽²⁹⁾ This wood was a part of the great Hercynian forest, which, in the time of Cæsar, stretched away from the country of the Rauraci (Basil) into the boundless regions of the North. See Cluver. Germania Antiqua, 1. iii. c. 47.

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versed the territory of the Romans or of the Barbarians, and at length emerged, between Ratisbon and Vienna, at the place where he defigned to embark his troops on the Danube. By a well-concerted stratagem, he seized a fleet of light brigantines (31), as it lay at anchor; fecured a lupply of coarse provisions sufficient to fatisfy the indelicate, but voracious, appetite of a Gallic army; and boldly committed himself to the stream of the Danube. The labours of his mariners, who plied their oars with incessant diligence, and the fleady continuance of a favourable wind, carried his fleet above feven hundred miles in eleven days (32); and he had already disembarked his troops at Bononia, only nineteen miles from Sirmium, before his enemies could receive any certain intelligence that he had left the banks of the Rhine. In the course of this long and rapid navigation, the mind of Julian was fixed on the object of his enterprise; and though he accepted the deputations of some cities, which haftened to claim the merit of an early submission, he passed before the hostile stations, which were placed along the river, without

crecy of this march. A modern divine might apply to the progress of Julian, the lines which were originally designed for another apostate:

O'er bog, or steep, through strait, rough, dense, or rare, With head, hands, wings, or feet, pursues his way, And swims, or sinks, or wades, or creeps, or slies.

(31) In that interval the Notitia places two or three fleets, the Lauriacensis (at Lauriacum, or Lorch), the Arlapensis, the Maginensis; and mentions sive legions, or cohorts, of Liburnarii, who should be a fort of marines. Sect. lviii. edit. Labb.

(32) Zosimus alone (l. iii. p. 156.) has specified this interesting circumflance. Mamertinus (in Panegyr. Vet. xi. 6, 7, 8.), who accompanied Julian, as count of the sacred largesses, describes this voyage in a florid and pictoresque manner, challenges Triptolemus and the Argonauts of Greece, &c. n

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out indulging the temptation of fignalizing an useless and ill-timed valour. The banks of the Danube were crowded on either fide with spectators, who gazed on the military pomp, anticipated the importance of the event, and diffused through the adjacent country the fame of a young hero, who advanced with more than mortal speed at the head of the innumerable forces of the West. Lucilian, who, with the rank of general of the cavalry, commanded the military powers of Illyricum, was alarmed and perplexed by the doubtful reports, which he could neither reject nor believe. He had taken some flow and irresolute measures for the purpose of collecting his troops; when he was furprifed by Dagalaiphus, an active officer, whom Julian, as foon as he landed at Bononia, had pushed forwards with fome light infantry. The captive general, uncertain of his life or death, was haftily thrown upon a horse, and conducted to the presence of Julian; who kindly raised him from the ground, and dispelled the terror and amazement which seemed to stupify his faculties. Lucilian had no fooner recovered his spirits. than he betrayed his want of discretion by prefuming to admonish his conqueror, that he had rashly ventured, with a handful of men, to expose his person in the midst of his enemies. "Reserve for your master Constantius these ti-" mid remonstrances," replied Julian, with a fmile of contempt; "when I gave you my " purple to kifs, I received you not as a coun-" fellor, but as a suppliant." Conscious that fuccess alone could justify his attempt, and that boldness only could command success, he instantly advanced, at the head of three thousand foldiers, to attack the strongest and most populous lous city of the Illyrian provinces. As he entered the long fuburb of Sirmium, he was received by the joyful acclamations of the army and people; who, crowned with flowers, and holding lighted tapers in their hands, conducted their acknowledged fovereign to his Imperial refidence. Two days were devoted to the public joy, which was celebrated by the games of the Circus; but, early on the morning of the third day, Julian marched to occupy the narrow pass of Succi, in the defiles of Mount Hæmus; which, almost in the mid-way between Sirmium and Constantinople, separates the provinces of Thrace and Dacia, by an abrupt descent towards the former, and a gentle declivity on the The defence of this fide of the latter (33). important post was entrusted to the brave Nevitta; who, as well as the generals of the Italian division, successfully executed the plan of the march and junction which their mafter had fo ably conceived (34).

He justifies his cause.

The homage which Julian obtained, from the fears or the inclination of the people, extended far beyond the immediate effect of his arms (35). The præfectures of Italy and Illyricum were administered by Taurus and Florentius, who united that important office with the vain honours of the consulship; and as those magistrates

⁽³³⁾ The description of Ammianus, which might be supported by collateral evidence, ascertains the precise situation of the Augustiae Succorum, or passes of Succi. M. d'Anville, from the tristing resemblance of names, has placed them between Sardica and Naissus. For my own justification, I am obliged to mention the only error which I have discovered in the maps or writings of that admirable geographer.

⁽³⁴⁾ Whatever circumstances we may borrow elsewhere, Ammianus (xxi. 8, 9, 10.) still supplies the series of the narrative.

⁽³⁵⁾ Ammian. xxi. 9, 10. Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 54. p. 279, 280. Zosmus, l. iii. p. 156, 157.

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trates had retired with precipitation to the court of Asia, Julian, who could not always restrain the levity of his temper, stigmatized their flight by adding, in all the Acts of the Year, the epithet of fugitive to the names of the two confuls. The provinces which had been deferted by their first magistrates acknowledged the authority of an emperor, who, conciliating the qualities of a foldier with those of a philosopher, was equally admired in the camps of the Danube, and in the cities of Greece. From his palace, or, more properly, from his head-quarters of Sirmium and Naislus, he distributed to the principal cities of the empire, a laboured apology for his own conduct; published the fecret dispatches of Constantius; and solicited the judgment of mankind between two competitors, the one of whom had expelled, and the other invited, the Barbarians (36). whose mind was deeply wounded by the reproach of ingratitude, aspired to maintain, by argument as well as by arms, the fuperior merits of his caule; and to excel, not only in the arts of war, but in those of composition. epistle to the senate and people of Athens (37) icems

⁽³⁶⁾ Julian (ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 286.) positively afferts, that he intercepted the letters of Constantius to the Barbarians: and Libanius as positively affirms, that he read them on his march to the troops and the cities. Yet Ammianus (xxi. 4) expresses himself with cool and candid hesitation, si famæ solius admittenda est sides. He specifies, however, an intercepted letter from Vadomair to Constantius, which supposes an intimate correspondence between them: "Cæsar tuus disciplinam non habet."

⁽³⁷⁾ Zosimus mentions his epistles to the Athenians, the Corinthians, and the Lacedæmonians. The substance was probably the same, though the address was properly varied. The epistle to the Athenians is still extant (p. 268—287.), and has afforded much valuable information. It deserves the praises of the Abbé de la Bleterie (Pres. à l'Histoire de Jovien, p. 24, 25.), and is one of the best manifestoes to be found in any language.

feems to have been dictated by an elegant enthusiasim; which prompted him to submit his actions and his motives to the degenerate Athenians of his own times, with the fame humble deference, as if he had been pleading, in the days of Aristides, before the tribunal of the Areopagus. His application to the fenate of Rome, which was still permitted to bestow the titles of Imperial power, was agreeable to the forms of the expiring republic. An affembly was fummoned by Tertullus, præfect of the city; the epistle of Julian was read; and as he appeared to be mafter of Italy, his claims were admitted without a diffenting voice. His oblique censure of the innovations of Constantine, and his passionate invective against the vices of Constantius, were heard with less satisfaction; and the senate, as if Julian had been present, unanimously exclaimed, "Respect, we beseech "you, the author of your own fortune (38)". An artful expression, which, according to the chance of war, might be differently explained; as a manly reproof of the ingratitude of the usurper, or as a flattering confession, that a fingle act of such benefit to the state ought to atone for all the failings of Constantius.

Hostile preparations.

The intelligence of the march and rapid progress of Julian was speedily transmitted to his rival, who, by the retreat of Sapor, had obtained some respite from the Persian war. Disguising the anguish of his soul under the semblance of contempt, Constantius professed his intention of returning into Europe, and of giving chace to Julian; for he never spoke of this military

⁽³⁸⁾ Auctori tuo reverentiam rogamus. Ammian. xix. 10. It is amufing enough to observe the secret conflicts of the senate between flattery and fear. See Tacit. Hist. i. 85.

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military expedition in any other light than that of a hunting party (39). In the camp of Hierapolis, in Syria, he communicated this delign to his army; flightly mentioned the guilt and rathness of the Cæsar; and ventured to assure them, that if the mutineers of Gaul prefumed to meet them in the field, they would be unable to fuftain the fire of their eyes, and the irrelatible weight of their shout of onset. The speech of the emperor was received with military applause, and Theodotus, the president of the council of Hierapolis, requested, with tears of adulation, that his city might be adorned with the head of the vanquished rebel (40). chosen detachment was dispached away in postwaggons, to secure, if it were yet possible, the pass of Succi; the recruits, the horses, the arms, and the magazines which had been prepared against Sapor, were appropriated to the service of the civil war; and the domestic victories of Constantius inspired his partisans with the most fanguine affurances of fuccess. The notary Gaudentius had occupied in his name the provinces of Africa; the sublistence of Rome was intercepted; and the diffress of Julian was increased, by an unexpected event, which might have been productive of fatal confequences. Julian had received the submission of two legions and a cohort of archers, who were stationed at Sirmium; but he suspected, with reason, the fidelity of those troops, which had been distinguished

(39) Tanquam venaticiam prædam caperet : hoc enim ad leniendum fuorum metum fubinde prædicabat. Ammian. xxi. 7.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ See the speech and preparations in Ammianus, xxi. 13. The vile Theodotus afterwards implored and obtained his pardon from the merciful conqueror, who signified his wish of diminishing his enemies, and increasing the number of his friends (xxii. 14.)

guished by the emperor; and it was thought expedient, under the pretence of the exposed state of the Gallic frontier, to dismiss them from the most important scene of action. They advanced, with reluctance, as far as the confines of Italy; but as they dreaded the length of the way, and the favage fierceness of the Germans, they refolved, by the inftigation of one of their tribunes, to halt at Aquileia, and to erect the banners of Constantius on the walls of that im-The vigilance of Julian perpregnable city. ceived at once the extent of the mischief, and the necessity of applying an immediate remedy. By his order, Jovinus led back a part of the army into Italy; and the fiege of Aquileia was formed with diligence, and profecuted with vigour. But the legionaries, who feemed to have rejected the yoke of discipline, conducted the the defence of the place with skill and perseverance; invited the rest of Italy to imitate the example of their courage and loyalty; and threatened the retreat of Julian, if he should be forced to yield to the superior numbers of the armies of the East (41).

and death of But the humanity of Julian was preferved Conflantius, from the cruel alternative, which he pathetically November3. laments, of destroying, or of being himself destroyed; and the seasonable death of Constantius delivered the Roman empire from the calamities of civil war. The approach of winter could not detain the monarch at Antioch; and

(41) Ammian. xxi. 7. 11, 12. He seems to describe, with superstuous sabour, the operations of the siege of Aquileia, which, on this occasion, maintained its impregnable same. Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iii. p. 68.) ascribes this accidental revolt to the wisdom of Constantius, whose assured victory he announces with some appearance of truth. Constantio quem credebat proculdubio fore victorem: nemo enim omnium tunc ab hac constanti sententia discrepebat. Ammian. xxi. 7.

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his favourites durst not oppose his impatient defire of revenge. A flight fever, which was perhaps occasioned by the agitation of his spirits, was encreased by the fatigues of the journey; and Constantius was obliged to halt at the little town of Mopfucrene, twelve miles beyond Tarfus, where he expired, after a fhort illness, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the twentyfourth of his reign (42). His genuine character, which was composed of pride and weakness, of fuperstition and cruelty, has been fully displayed in the preceding narrative of civil and ecclefiaf-The long abuse of power rendertical events. ed him a confiderable object in the eyes of his contemporaries; but as personal merit can alone deserve the notice of posterity, the last of the fons of Constantine may be dismissed from the world with the remark, that he inherited the defects, without the abilities, of his father. Before Constantius expired, he is said to have named Julian for his fuccellor; nor does it feem improbable, that his anxious concern for the fate of a young and tender wife, whom he left with child, may have prevailed, in his last moments, over the harsher passions of hatred and revenge. Eusebius, and his guilty affociates, made a faint attempt to prolong the reign of the eunuchs, by the election of another emperor: but their intrigues were rejected with disdain by an army which now abhorred the thought of civil difcord ;

⁽⁴²⁾ His death and character are faithfully delineated by Ammianus (xxi. 14, 15, 16.); and we are authorised to despise and detest the soolish calumny of Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 68.), who accuses Julian of contriving the death of his benefactor. The private repentance of the emperor, that he had spared and promoted Julian (p. 69. and Orat. xxi. p. 389.), is not improbable in itself, nor incompatible with the public verbal testament, which prudential considerations might dictate in the last moments of his life.

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cord; and two officers of rank were instantly dispatched, to assure Julian, that every sword in the empire would be drawn for his fervice. The military defigns of that prince, who had formed three different attacks against Thrace, were prevented by this fortunate event. Without shedding the blood of his fellow-citizens, he escaped the dangers of a doubtful conflict, and acquired the advantages of a complete victory. Impatient to visit the place of his birth, and the new capital of the empire, he advanced from Naissus through the mountains of Hæmus, and the cities of Thrace. When he reached Heraclea, at the distance of fixty miles, all Constantinople was Julian enters poured forth to receive him; and he made his triumphal entry, amidst the dutiful acclamations of the foldiers, the people, and the fenate. innumerable multitude pressed around him with eager respect; and were perhaps disappointed when they beheld the fmall stature, and simple

garb, of a hero, whose unexperienced youth

had vanquished the Barbarians of Germany,

and who had now traversed, in a successful ca-

reer, the whole continent of Europe, from the shores of the Atlantic to those of the Bosphorus (43). A few days afterwards, when the remains of the deceased emperor were landed in

the harbour, the subjects of Julian applauded

the real or affected humanity of their fovereign.

On foot, without his diadem, and clothed in a

mourning habit, he accompanied the funeral as far as the church of the Holy Apoilles, where

the body was deposited: and if these marks of respect may be interpreted as a selfish tribute to

nople, December

(43) In describing the triumph of Julian, Ammianus (xxii. 1, 2.) asfumes the lofty tone of an orator or poet; while Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 56. p. 281.) finks to the grave simplicity of an historian.

to the birth and dignity of his Imperial kinsman, the tears of Julian professed to the world, that he had forgot the injuries, and remembered only the obligations, which he had received from Constantius (44). As soon as the legions of Aquileia were assured of the death of the emperor, they opened the gates of the city, and, by the sacrifice of their guilty leaders, obtained an easy pardon from the prudence or lenity of and is ac-Julian; who, in the thirty-second year of his knowledged age, acquired the undisputed possession of the by the whole empire.

Roman empire (45).

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Philosophy had instructed Julian to compare Hiscivil gothe advantages of action and retirement; but vernment
and private
the elevation of his birth, and the accidents of life.
his life, never allowed him the freedom of
choice. He might perhaps sincerely have preferred the groves of the academy, and the society of Athens; but he was constrained, at
first by the will, and afterwards by the injustice,
of Constantius, to expose his person and same
to the dangers of Imperial greatness; and to
make himself accountable to the world, and to
posterity, for the happiness of millions (46). JuVol. IV.

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(44) The funeral of Constantius is described by Ammianus (xxi. 16.), Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iv. p. 119.), Mamertinus (in Panegyr. Vet. 27.), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. lvi. p. 283.), and Philostorgius (l. vi. c. d. with Godefroy's Dissertations, p. 265.). These writers, and their followers, Pagans, Catholics, Arians, beheld with very different eyes both the dead and the living emperor.

(45) The day and year of the birth of Julian are not perfectly ascertained. The day is probably the fixth of November, and the year must be either 331 or 332. Tillemont, Hitt. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 693. Ducange, Fam. Byzantin. p. 50. I have preferred the earlier date.

(46) Julian himself (p. 253-267.) has expressed these philosophical ideas, with much eloquence, and some affectation, in a very elaborate epistle to Themistius. The Abbé de la Bleterie (tom. ii. p. 146-193.), who has given an elegant translation, is inclined to believe that it was the celebrated Themistius, whose orations are still extant.

lian recollected with terror the observation of his master Plato (47), that the government of our flocks and herds is always committed to beings of a superior species; and that the conduct of nations requires and deferves the celestial powers of the Gods or of the Genii. From this principle he juftly concluded, that the man who prefumes to reign, should aspire to the perfection of the divine nature; that he should purify his foul from her mortal and terrestrial part; that he should extinguish his appetites, enlighten his understanding, regulate his passions, and subdue the wild beaft, which, according to the lively metaphor of Aristotle (48), seldom fails to ascend the throne of a despot. The throne of Julian, which the death of Constantius fixed on an independent basis, was the seat of reason, of virtue, and perhaps of vanity. He despised the honours, renounced the pleasures, and discharged with incessant diligence the duties, of his exalted station; and there were few among his fubjects who would have consented to relieve him from the weight of the diadem, had they been obliged to submit their time and their actions to the rigorous laws which their philosophic emperor imposed on himself. One of his most intimate friends (49), who had often shared the fru-

(47) Julian ad Themist. p. 258. Petavius (not. p. 95.) observes, that this passage is taken from the fourth book de Legibus; but either Julian quoted from memory, or his MSS. were different from ours. Xenophon opens the Cyropædia with a similar reflection.

(48) O de ανθεωπον κελευων αρχειν, προσίθησι και θηριον. Aristot. ap. Julian. p. 261. The MS. of Vossius, unsatisfied with a single beast, affords the stronger reading of θηρια, which the experience of despotism may warrant.

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(49) Libanius (Orat. Parentalis, c. lxxxiv. lxxxv. p. 310, 311, 312.) has given this interesting detail of the private life of Julian. He himself (in Misopogon, p. 350.) mentions his vegetable diet, and upbraids the groß and sensual appetite of the people of Antioch.

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gal fimplicity of his table, has remarked, that his light and sparing diet (which was usually of the vegetable kind) left his mind and body always free and active, for the various and important buliness of an author, a pontiff, a magistrate, a general, and a prince. In one and the fame day, he gave audience to feveral ambaffadors, and wrote, or dictated, a great number of letters to his generals, his civil magiftrates, his private friends, and the different cities of his dominions. He littened to the memorials which had been received, confidered the fubject of the petitions, and fignified his intentions more rapidly than they could be taken in shorthand by the diligence of his fecretaries. possessed flexibility of thought, and fuch firmness of attention, that he could employ his hand to write, his ear to liften, and his voice to dictate; and purfue at once three leveral trains of ideas, without helitation, and without error. While his ministers reposed, the prince flew with agility from one labour to another, and, after a hasty dinner, retired into his library, till the public buliness, which he had appointed for the evening, summoned him to interrupt the The supper of the profecution of his studies. emperor was still less substantial than the former meal; his fleep was never clouded by the fumes of indigettion; and, except in the short interval of a marriage, which was the effect of policy rather than love, the chafte Julian never thared his bed with a female companion (50). D 2 He

(50) Lectulus... Vestalium toris purior, is the praise which Mather-tinus (Panegyr. Vet. xi. 13.) addresses to Julian himself. Libanius affirms, in sober peremptory language, that Julian never knew a woman before his marriage, or after the death of his wife (Orat. Parent. c. lxxxviii. p. 313.). The chastity of Julian is confirmed by the impartial testimony of Ammi-

He was foon awakened by the entrance of fresh fecretaries, who had flept the preceding day; and his fervants were obliged to wait alternately, while their indefatigable mafter allowed himself fcarcely any other refreshment than the change of occupations. The predecessors of Julian, his uncle, his brother, and his coufin, indulged their puerile tafte for the games of the circus, under the specious pretence of complying with the inclinations of the people; and they frequently remained the greatest part of the day, as idle spectators, and as a part of the splendid spectacle, till the ordinary round of twenty-four races (51) was completely finished. On solemn festivals, Julian, who felt and professed an unfashionable dislike to these frivolous amusements, condescended to appear in the circus; and after bestowing a careless glance on five or six of the races, he hastily withdrew, with the impatience of a philosopher, who considered every moment as loft, that was not devoted to the advantage of the public, or the improvement of his own mind (52). By this avarice of time, he feemed to

anus (xxv. 4.), and the partial silence of the Christians. Yet Julian ironically urges the reproach of the people of Antioch, that he almost always (us sminar, in Misopogon. p. 345.) lay aione. The suspicious expression is explained by the Abbé de la Bleterie (Hist. de Jovien, tom. ii. p. 103—109.) with candour and ingenuity.

(51) See Salmafius ad Sueton. in Claud. c. xxi. A twenty-fifth race, or missus, was added, to complete the number of one hundred chariots, four

of which, the four colours, tharted each heat.

Centum quadrijugos agitabo ad flumina currus.

It appears, that they ran five or feven times round the Meta (Suctor in Domitian. c. 4.); and (from the measure of the Circus Maximus at Rome, the Hippodrome at Constantinople, &c.) it might be about a four-mile course.

(52) Julian. in Misopogon, p. 340. Julius Cæsar had offended the Roman people by reading his dispatches during the actual race. Augustus indulged

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to protract the short duration of his reign; and if the dates were less securely ascertained, we should refuse to believe, that only sixteen months elapsed between the death of Constantius and the December, A. D. 361. departure of his successor for the Persian war. March, The actions of Julian can only be preserved by A. D. 363. the care of the historian; but the portion of his voluminous writings, which is still extant, remains as a monument of the application, as well as of the genius, of the emperor. The Misopogon, the Cæsars, several of his orations, and his elaborate work against the Christian religion, were composed in the long nights of the two winters, the former of which he passed at Constantinople, and the latter at Antioch.

The reformation of the Imperial court was Reformatione of the first and most necessary acts of the lace. government of Julian (53). Soon after his entrance into the palace of Constantinople, he had occasion for the service of a barber. An officer, magnificently dressed, immediately presented himself. "It is a barber," exclaimed the prince, with affected surprise, "that I want, and not a "receiver-general of the sinances (54)." He questioned the man concerning the profits of his employment; and was informed, that besides a large salary, and some valuable perquisites, he enjoyed a daily allowance for twenty servants,

and

indulged their taste, or his own, by his constant attention to the important business of the circus, for which he professed the warmest inclination. Sucton. in August. c. xlv.

(53) The reformation of the palace is described by Ammianus (xxii. 4.), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. lxii. p. 288, &c.), Mamertinus (in Panegyr. Vet. xi. 11.), Socrates (l. iii. c. 1.), and Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 24.)

(54) Ego non rationalem justi sed tonsorem acciri. Zonaras uses the less natural language of a fenator. Yet an officer of the sinances, who was satiated with wealth, might desire and obtain the honours of the senate.

and as many horses. A thousand barbers, a thousand cup-bearers, a thousand cooks, were diffributed in the feveral offices of luxury; and the number of eunuchs could be compared only with the infects of a fummer's day (55). The monarch who refigned to his subjects the superiority of merit and virtue, was diftinguished by the oppressive magnificence of his dress, his table, his buildings, and his train. The stately palaces erected by Constantine and his sons, were decorated with many coloured marbles, and ornaments of maffy gold. The most exquifite dainties were procured, to gratify their pride, rather than their taste; birds of the most distant climates, fish from the most remote seas, fruits out of their natural season, winter roses, and fummer fnows (56). The domestic crowd of the palace surpassed the expence of the legions; yet the smallest part of this costly multitude was subservient to the use, or even to the splendor, of the throne. The monarch was difgraced, and the people was injured, by the creation and sale of an infinite number of obscure, and even titular employments; and the most worthless of mankind might purchase the privilege of being maintained, without the necessity of labour, from the public revenue. The waste of an enormous household, the encrease of fees and

(56) The expressions of Mamertinus are lively and forcible. Quin etiam prandiorum et canarum laboratas magnitudines Romanus populus sensit; cum quasitissima dapes non gustu sed difficultatibus assimarentur miracula avium, longinqui maris pisces, alieni temporis poma, astiva

nives, hybernæ rofæ.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ Μαγειρες μεν χιλιες, κερεας δε εκ ελαττες, οιεοχους δε πλειες, σμηνη τραπιζοποιων, ευευχες υπερ τας μυιας παρα τοις ποεμεσι εν ηρι, are the original words of Libanius, which I have faithfully quoted, left I should be suspected of magnifying the abuses of the royal household.

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and perquilites, which were foon claimed as a lawful debt, and the bribes which they extorted from those who feared their enmity, or solicited their favour, suddenly enriched these haughty They abused their fortune, without menials. confidering their past, or their future, condition; and their rapine and venality could be equalled only by the extravagance of their diffipations. Their filken robes were embroidered with gold, their tables were served with delicacy and profufion; the houses which they built for their own use, would have covered the farm of an ancient conful; and the most honourable citizens were obliged to dismount from their horses, and respectfully to salute an eunuch whom they met on the public highway. The luxury of the palace excited the contempt and indignation of Julian, who usually slept on the ground, who yielded with reluctance to the indispensable calls of nature; and who placed his vanity, not in emulating, but in despising, the pomp of royalty. By the total extirpation of a mischief which was magnified even beyond its real extent, he was impatient to relieve the diffress, and to appeale the murmurs, of the people; who support with less uneasiness the weight of taxes, if they are convinced that the fruits of their industry are appropriated to the service of the state. But in the execution of this falutary work, Julian is accused of proceeding with too much haste and inconfiderate feverity. By a lingle edict, he reduced the palace of Constantinople to an immense desert, and dismissed with ignominy the whole train of flaves and dependents (57), with-

⁽⁵⁷⁾ Yet Julian himself was accused of bestowing whole towns on the cunuchs (Orat, vii. against Polyclet. p. 117-127.). Libanius contents himself

out providing any just, or at least benevolent, exceptions, for the age, the fervices, or the poverty, of the faithful domestics of the Imperial family. Such indeed was the temper of Julian, who feldom recollected the fundamental maxim of Aristotle, that true virtue is placed at an equal distance between the opposite vices. splendid and effeminate dress of the Asiatics, the curls and paint, the collars and bracelets, which had appeared fo ridiculous in the person of Constantine, were consistently rejected by his philosophic successor. But with the fopperies, Julian affected to renounce the decencies, of dress; and seemed to value himself for his neglect of the laws of cleanliness. In a satirical performance, which was designed for the public eye, the emperor descants with pleasure, and even with pride, on the length of his nails, and the inky blackness of his hands; protests, that although the greatest part of his body was covered with hair, the use of the razor was confined to his head alone; and celebrates, with visible complacency, the fhaggy and populous (58) beard, which he fondly cherished, after the example of the philosophers of Greece. Had Julian confulted the simple dictates of reason, the first magiltrate

himself with a cold but positive denial of the fact, which seems indeed to belong more properly to Constantius. This charge, however, may allude to some unknown circumstance.

(58) In the Misopogon (p. 338, 339.) he draws a very singular picture of himself, and the following words are strangely characteristic; αυτος προσεθεικα τον βαθυν τυτονι πωγωνα... ταυτα τοι διαθεοντων ανεχομαι των Φθειζων οσπες εν λοχμη των θηςιων. The friends of the Abbé de la Bleterie adjured him, in the name of the French nation, not to translate this passage, so offensive to their delicacy (Hist. de Jovien, tom. ii. p. 94.). Like him, I have contented myself with a transient allusion; but the little annimal, which Julian names, is a beast familiar to man, and signifies love.

magistrate of the Romans would have scorned the affectation of Diogenes, as well as that of Darius.

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But the work of public reformation would Chamber of have remained imperfect, if Julian had only cor-justice. rected the abuses, without punishing the crimes, of his predecessor's reign. "We are now deli-"vered," fays he, in a familiar letter to one of his intimate friends, "we are now furprifingly " delivered from the voracious jaws of the Hy-" dra (59). I do not mean to apply that epi-"thet to my brother Constantius. He is no " more; may the earth lie light on his head! But his artful and cruel favourites studied to " deceive and exasperate a prince, whose natu-" ral mildness cannot be praised without some " efforts of adulation. It is not, however, my " intention, that even those men should be op-" pressed: they are accused, and they shall en-" joy the benefit of a fair and impartial trial." To conduct this enquiry, Julian named fix judges of the highest rank in the state and army; and as he wished to escape the reproach of condemning his personal enemies, he fixed this extraordinary tribunal at Chalcedon, on the Asiatic fide of the Bosphorus; and transferred to the commissioners an absolute power to pronounce and execute their final sentence, without delay, and without appeal. The office of prefident was exercised by the venerable præfect of the East, a second Sallust (60), whose virtues conciliated

(59) Julian, epist. xxiii. p. 389. He uses the words πολυκεφαλον vogav, in writing to his friend Hermogenes, who, like himself, was conversant with the Greek poets.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ The two Sallusts, the præsect of Gaul, and the præsect of the East, must be carefully distinguished (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 696.). I have used the surname of Secundus, as a convenient epithet.

liated the efteem of Greek fophists, and of Christian bishops. He was assisted by the eloquent Mamertinus (61), one of the consuls elect. whose merit is loudly celebrated by the doubtful evidence of his own applause. But the civil wisdom of two magistrates was overbalanced by the ferocious violence of four generals, Nevitta, Agilo, Jovinus, and Arbetio. Arbetio, whom the public would have feen with less surprise at the bar than on the bench, was supposed to posfess the secret of the commission; the armed and angry leaders of the Jovian and Herculian bands encompassed the tribunal; and the judges were alternately swayed by the laws of justice, and by the clamours of faction (62).

Punishment cent and the guilty.

The chamberlain Eusebius, who had so long of the inno-abused the favour of Constantius, expiated, by an ignominius death, the insolence, the corruption, and cruelty of his servile reign. The executions of Paul and Apodemius (the former of whom was burnt alive) were accepted as an inadequate atonement by the widows and orphans of fo many hundred Romans, whom those legal tyrants had betrayed and murdered. But Justice herself (if we may use the pathetic expression of Ammianus) (63) appeared to weep over the fate

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The second Sallust extorted the esteem of the Christians themselves; and Gregory Nazianzen, who condemned his religion, has celebrated his virtues (Orat. iii. p. 90.). See a curious note of the Abbé de la Bleterie, Vie de Julien, p. 363.

(61) Mamertinus praises the emperor (xi. 1.) for bestowing the offices of Treasurer and Præsect on a man of wisdom, firmness, integrity, &c. like himself. Yet Ammianus ranks him (xxi. 1.) among the ministers of Julian, quorum merita nôrat et fidem.

(62) The proceedings of this chamber of justice are related by Ammianus (xxii. 3.), and praised by Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 74. p. 299)

(63) Ursuli vero necem ipsa mihi videtur flesse justitia. Libanius, who imputes his death to the foldiers, attempts to criminate the count of the large.

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of Urfulus, the treasurer of the empire; and his blood accused the ingratitude of Julian, whose diffress had been seasonably relieved by the intrepid liberality of that honest minister. The rage of the foldiers, whom he had provoked by his indifcretion, was the cause and the excuse of his death; and the emperor, deeply wounded by his own reproaches and those of the public, offered some consolation to the family of Ursulus, by the restitution of his confiscated fortunes. Before the end of the year in which they had been adorned with the enligns of the prefecture and confulthip (64), Taurus and Flaorentius were reduced to implore the clemency of the inexorable tribunal of Chalcedon. The former was banished to Vercellæ in Italy, and a sentence of death was pronounced against the latter. wife prince should have rewarded the crime of Taurus: the faithful minister, when he was no longer able to oppose the progress of a rebel, had taken refuge in the court of his benefactor and his lawful fovereign. But the guilt of Florentius justified the severity of the judges; and his escape served to display the magnanimity of Julian; who nobly checked the interested diligence of an informer, and refused to learn what place concealed the wretched fugitive from his just resentment (65). Some months after the tribunal of Chalcedon had been dissolved, the prætorian vicegerent of Africa, the notary Gaudentius.

⁽⁶⁴⁾ Such respect was still entertained for the venerable names of the commonwealth, that the public was surprised and scandalized to hear Taurus summoned as a criminal under the consulfhip of Taurus. The summons of his colleague Florentius was probably delayed till the commencement of the ensuing year.

⁽⁶⁵⁾ Ammian xx. 7.

dentius, and Artemius (66) duke of Egypt, were executed at Antioch. Artemius had reigned the cruel and corrupt tyrant of a great province; Gaudentius had long practifed the arts of calumny against the innocent, the virtuous, and even the person of Julian himself. Yet the circumstances of their trial and condemnation were fo unskilfully managed, that these wicked men obtained, in the public opinion, the glory of fuffering for the obstinate loyalty with which they had supported the cause of Constantius. rest of his servants were protected by a general act of oblivion; and they were left to enjoy with impunity the bribes which they had accepted, either to defend the oppressed, or to oppress the friendless. This measure, which on the soundest principles of policy, may deserve our approbation, was executed in a manner which feemed to degrade the majesty of the throne. Julian was tormented by the importunities of a multitude, particularly of Egyptians, who loudly redemanded the gifts which they had imprudently or illegally bestowed; he foresaw the endless profecution of vexatious fuits; and he engaged a promise, which ought always to have been sacred, that if they would repair to Chalcedon, he would meet them in person, to hear and determine their complaints. But as foon as they were landed, he issued an absolute order, which prohibited the watermen from transporting any Egyptian to Constantinople; and thus detained his

⁽⁶⁶⁾ For the guilt and punishment of Artemius, see Julian (Epist. x. p. 379.), and Ammianus (xxii. 6. and Vales. and loc.). The merit of Artemius, who demolished temples, and was put to death by an apostate, has tempted the Greek and Latin churches to honour him as a martyr. But as ecclesiastical history attests, that he was not only a tyrant, but as Arian, it is not altogether easy to justify the indiscreet promotion. Tille mont, Mem. Eccles. tom. vii. p. 1319.

his disappointed clients on the Asiatic shore, till their patience and money being utterly exhausted, they were obliged to return with indignant murmurs to their native country (67).

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The numerous army of spies, of agents, and Clemency of informers, enlifted by Constantius to secure the Julian. repose of one man, and to interrupt that of millions, was immediately disbanded by his generous fuccessor. Julian was slow in his suspicions, and gentle in his punishments; and his contempt of treason was the result of judgment, of vanity, and of courage. Conscious of superior merit, he was perfuaded that few among his fubjects would dare, to meet him in the field, to attempt his life, or even to feat themselves on his vacant throne. The philosopher could excuse the hasty sallies of discontent; and the hero could despise the ambitious projects, which surpassed the fortune or the abilities of the rash conpirators. A citizen of Ancyra had prepared for his own use a purple garment; and this indifcreet action, which, under the reign of Constanrius, would have been considered as a capital offence (68), was reported to Julian by the officious importunity of a private enemy. The monarch, after making some inquiry into the rank and character of his rival, dispatched the informer with a present of a pair of purple slippers, to complete the magnificence of his Imperial habit.

(67) See Ammian. xxii. 6. and Valef. ad locum; and the Codex Thedofianus, l. ii. tit. xxxix. leg. 1.; and Godefroy's Commentary, tom. 1. p. 218, ad locum.

⁽⁶⁸⁾ The president Montesquieu (Considerations sur la Grandeur, &c. des Romains, c. xiv. in his works, tom. iii. p. 448, 449) excuses this minute and absurd tyranny, by supposing, that actions the most indifferent in our eyes might excite, in a Roman mind, the idea of guilt and danger. This strange apology is supported by a strange misapprehension of the English laws, "chez une nation... où il est desendû de boire à la santé d'une certaine personne."

habit. A more dangerous conspiracy was formed by ten of the domestic guards, who had resolved to affassinate Julian in the field of exercise near Antioch. Their intemperance revealed their guilt; and they were conducted in chains to the presence of their injured sovereign, who, after a lively representation of the wickedness and folly of their enterprise, instead of a death of torture, which they deserved and expected, pronounced a sentence of exile against the two principal of-The only instance in which Julian fenders. feemed to depart from his accustomed clemency, was the execution of a rash youth, who with a feeble hand had aspired to seize the reigns of empire. But that youth was the son of Marcellus, the general of cavalry, who, in the first campaign of the Gallic war, had deferted the standard of the Cæsar, and the republic. out appearing to indulge his personal refentment, Julian might eafily confound the crime of the fon and of the father; but he was reconciled by the diffress of Marcellus, and the liberality of the emperor endeavoured to heal the wound which had been inflicted by the hand of justice (69).

His love of Julian was not insensible of the advantages of freedom and freedom (70). From his studies he had imbibed the spirit of ancient sages and heroes: his life and fortunes had depended on the caprice of a tyrant; and when he ascended the throne, his pride was sometimes mortisted by the reslection,

⁽⁶⁹⁾ The elemency of Julian, and the conspiracy which was formed against his life at Antioch, are described by Ammianus (xxii. 9, 10. and Vales. ad loc.), and Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 99. p. 323.).

⁽⁷⁰⁾ According to some, says Aristotle (as he is quoted by Julian ad Themist. p. 261.), the form of absolute government, the παμβασιλιία, is contrary to nature. Both the prince and philosopher chuse, however, to involve this eternal truth in artful and laboured of scurity.

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hat the flaves who would not dare to cenfure his defects, were not worthy to applaud his virtues (71). He fincerely abhorred the system of Oriental despotism, which Diocletian, Constantine, and the patient habits of fourfcore years, had established in the empire. A motive of superstition prevented the execution of the design which Julian had frequently meditated, of relieving his head from the weight of a costly diadem (72): but he absolutely refused the title of Dominus, or Lord (73), a word which was grown so familiar to the ears of the Romans, that they no longer remembered its fervile and humiliating origin. The office, or rather the name, of conful, was cherished by a prince who contemplated with reverence the ruins of the republic; and the ame behaviour which had been assumed by the prudence of Augustus, was adopted by Julian from choice and inclination. On the calends of January, at break of day, the new confuls, A.D. 363, Mamertinus and Nevitta, hastened to the palace January 1. to falute the emperor. As foon as he was informed of their approach, he leaped from his throne, eagerly advanced to meet them, and compelled the blushing magistrates to receive the demonstrations of his affected humility. From

(71) That sentiment is expressed almost in the words of Julian him-

(73) Julian in Misopogon, p. 343. As he never abolished, by any public law, the proud appellations of Despot, or Dominus, they are still extant on his medals (Ducange, Fam. Byzantin. p. 38, 39.): and the private displeasure which he affected to express, only gave a different tone to the servility of the court. The Abbé de la Bleterie (Hist. de Jovien, tom. i. p. 99—102.) has curiously traced the origin and progress of the word Dominus under the Imperial government.

the palace they proceeded to the senate. The emperor, on foot, marched before their litters; and the gazing multitude admired the image of ancient times, or fecretly blamed a conduct, which, in their eyes, degraded the majesty of the purple (74). But the behaviour of Julian was uniformly supported. During the games of the Circus, he had, imprudently or designedly, performed the manumission of a slave in the presence of the conful. The moment he was reminded that he had trespassed on the jurisdiction of another magistrate, he condemned himself to pay a fine of ten pounds of gold; and embraced this public occasion of declaring to the world, that he was subject, like the rest of his fellow-citizens, to the laws (75), and even to the forms, of the republic. The spirit of his administration, and his regard for the place of his nativity, induced Julian to confer on the senate of Constantinople, the same honours, privileges, and authority, which were still enjoyed by the fenate of ancient Rome (76). A legal fiction was introduced, and gradually established, that one half of the national council had migrated into the East: and the despotic successors of Julian, accepting the title of Senators, acknowledged themselves the members of a respectable body, which was permitted to reprefent

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(75) Personal satire was condemned by the laws of the twelve tables: Si male condiderit in quem quis carmina, jus est,

Judiciumque.—
Julian (in Misopogon, p. 337.) owns himself subject to the law; and the Abbé de la Bleterie (Hist. de Jovien. tom. ii. p. 92) has eagerly embraced a declaration so agreeable to his own system, and indeed to the true spirit, of the Imperial constitution.

⁽⁷⁴⁾ Ammian xxii. 7. The conful Mamertinus (in Panegyr. Vet. xi. 28, 29. 30.) celebrates the aufpicious day, like an eloquent flave, aftonished and intoxicated by the condescention of his master.

⁽⁷⁶⁾ Zofimus, 1. iii. p. 158.

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fent the majesty of the Roman name. Constantinople, the attention of the monarch was extended to the municipal fenates of the provinces. He abolished, by repeated edicts, the unjust and pernicious exemptions, which had withdrawn fo many idle citizens from the fervice of their country; and by imposing an equal distribution of public duties, he restored the ftrength, the splendour, or, according to the glowing expression of Libanius (77), the soul of the expiring cities of his empire. The venerable His care of age of Greece excited the most tender compassion the Grecian in the mind of Julian; which kindled into rapture when he recollected the gods; the heroes; and the men, superior to heroes and to gods; who had bequeathed to the latest posterity the monuments of their genius, or the example of their virtues. He relieved the diffress, and reflored the beauty, of the cities of Epirus and Peloponnesus (78). Athens acknowledged him for her benefactor; Argos, for her deliverer. The pride of Corinth, again riling from her ruins with the honours of a Roman colony, exacted a tribute from the adjacent republics, for the purpose of defraying the games of the Isthmus, which were celebrated in the amphitheatre with the hunting of bears and panthers. From this VOL. IV. tribute

(77) is the Bouline to to your Tolews setu. See Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 71. p. 296) Ammianus (xxii. 9.), and the Theodosian Code L. xii. tit. i. leg. 50—55,) with Godefroy's Commentary (tom. iv. p. 396—402). Yet the whole subject of the Curiæ, notwithstanding very ample materials, still remains the most obscure in the legal history of the empire.

(78) Quæ paulo ante arida et siti anhelantia visebantur, ea nunc persui, mundari, madere; Fora, Deambulacra, Gymnasia, lætis et gaudentibus populis frequentari; dies festos, et celebrari veteres, et novos in honorem principis consecrari (Mamertin. xi. 9.). He particularly restored the city of Nicopolis, and the Actiac games, which had been instituted by Augustus.

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tribute the cities of Elis, of Delphi, and of Argos, which had inherited from their remote anceftors the facred office of perpetuating the Olympic, the Pythian, and the Nemean games, claimed a just exemption. The immunity of Elis and Delphi was respected by the Corinthians; but the poverty of Argos tempted the infolence of oppression; and the feeble complaints of its deputies were filenced by the decree of a provincial magistrate, who seems to have confulted only the interest of the capital, in which he refided. Seven years after this sentence, Julian (79) allowed the cause to be referred to a fuperior tribunal; and his eloquence was interposed, most probably with success, in the defence of a city, which had been the royal feat of Agamemnon (80), and had given to Macedonia a race of kings and conquerors (81).

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Julian, an orator and a judge.

The laborious administration of military and civil affairs, which were multiplied in proportion to the extent of the empire, exercised the abilities of Julian; but he frequently assumed the two characters of Orator (82) and of Judge

(79) Julian. Epist. xxxv. p. 407—411. This epistle, which illustrates the declining age of Greece, is omitted by the Abbé de la Bleterie; and strangely disfigured by the Latin translator, who, rendering ατελεια, tributum, εδιωται, populus, directly contradicts the sense of the original.

(80) He reigned in Mycenz, at the distance of fifty stadia, or fix miles, from Argos: but those cities which alternately flourished, are confounded by the Greek poets. Strabo, I. viii. p. 579. edit. Amstel. 1707.

(81) Marsham, Canon. Chron. p. 421. This pedigree from Temenus and Hercules may be suspicious; yet it was allowed, after a strict enquiry by the judges of the Olympic games (Herodot. l. v. c. 22.), at a time when the Macedonian kings were obscure and unpopular in Greece, When the Achzan league declared against Philip, it was thought decent that the deputies of Argos should retire (T. Liv. xxxii. 22.).

(82) His eloquence is celebrated by Libanius (Orat. Parent. c 75, 76. p. 300, 301.) who distinctly mentions the orators of Homer. Socrates (l. iii. c. 1). has rashly afferted that Julian was the only prince, fince Julius

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Judge (83) which are almost unknown to the modern sovereigns of Europe. The arts of persuasion, so diligently cultivated by the first Cæsars, were neglected by the military ignorance and Afiatic pride of their fuccessors; and if they condescended to harangue the foldiers, whom they feared, they treated with filent disdain the senators, whom they despised. The assemblies of the fenate, which Constantius had avoided, were confidered by Julian as the place where he could exhibit, with the most propriety, the maxims of a republican, and the talents of a rhetorician. He alternately practifed, as in a school of declamation, the several modes of praise, of censure, of exhortation; and his friend Libanius has remarked, that the study of Homer taught him to mitate the simple, concise style of Menelaus, the copiousness of Nestor, whose words descended like the flakes of a winter's fnow, or the pathetic and forcible eloquence of Ulysses. functions of a judge, which are fometimes incompatible with those of a prince, were exercised by Julian, not only as a duty, but as an amusement; and although he might have trusted the ntegrity and discernment of his Prætorian præfects, he often placed himself by their side on the feat of judgment. The acute penetration

Julius Cæsar, who harangued the senate. All the predecessors of Nero (Tacit. Annal. xiii. 3.), and many of his successors, possessed the faculty of speaking in public; and it might be proved by various examples, that they frequently exercised it in the senate.

(83) Ammianus (xxii. 10.) has impartially stated the merits and defects of his judicial proceedings. Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 90, 91. p. 315, &c.) has seen only the sair side, and his picture, if it slatters the person, expresses at least the duties, of the Judge. Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iv. p. 120.), who suppresses the virtues, and exaggerates even the venial faults, of the apostate, triumphantly asks, Whether such a judge was sit to be seated between Minos and Rhadamanthus, in the Elysian fields?

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of his mind was agreeably occupied in detecting and defeating the chicanery of the advocates, who laboured to disguise the truth of facts, and to pervert the sense of the laws. He sometimes forgot the gravity of his station, asked indiscreen or unseasonable questions, and betrayed, by the loudness of his voice, and the agitation of his body, the earnest vehemence with which he maintained his opinion against the judges, the advocates, and their clients. But his knowledge of his own temper prompted him to encourage and even to folicit, the reproof of his friends and ministers; and whenever they ventured to oppose the irregular fallies of his passions, the spectator could observe the shame, as well as the gratitude of their monarch. The decrees of Julian were almost always founded on the principles of justice; and he had the firmness to resist the two most dangerous temptations, which assauft the tribunal of a fovereign, under the specious form of compassion and equity. He decided the me rits of the cause without weighing the circum stances of the parties; and the poor, whom h wished to relieve, were condemned to satisfy the just demands of a noble and wealthy adversary He carefully distinguished the judge from the legislator (84); and though he meditated a ne cessary reformation of the Roman jurisprudence he pronounced fentence according to the flrid and literal interpretation of those laws, which the magistrates were bound to execute, and the sub jects to obey. TH

(84) Of the laws which Julian enacted in a reign of fixteen month fifty-four have been admitted into the Codes of Theodofius and Justinia (Gothofred. Chron. Legum, p. 64—67.) The Abbé de la Bleterie (tot ii. p. 329—336.) has chosen one of these laws to give an idea of Julian Latin style, which is forcible and elaborate, but less pure than his Great

The generality of princes, if they were strip-His characped of their purple, and cast naked into the world, ter. would immediately fink to the lowest rank of ociety, without a hope of emerging from their obscurity. But the personal merit of Julian was, in some measure, independent of his fortune. Whatever had been his choice of life; by the force of intrepid courage, lively wit, and intense application, he would have obtained, or at least he would have deserved, the highest honours of his profession; and Julian might have raised himself to the rank of minister, or general, of the flate in which he was born a private citizen. If the jealous caprice of power had disappointed his expectations; if he had prudently declined the paths of greatness, the employment of the fame talents in studious solitude, would have placed, beyond the reach of kings, his present happiness and his immortal fame. When we inspect, with minute, or perhaps malevolent attention, the portrait of Julian, fomething feems wanting to the grace and perfection of the whole figure. His genius was less powerful and sublime than that of Cæsar; nor did he possess the confummate prudence of Augustus. The virtues of Trajan appear more steady and natural, and the philosophy of Marcus is more simple and confistent. Yet Julian sustained adverity with firmness, and prosperity with moderation. After an interval of one hundred and twenty years from the death of Alexander Severus, the Romans beheld an emperor who made no distinction between his duties and his pleasures; who laboured to relieve the distress, and to revive the spirit, of his subjects; and who endeavoured always to connect authority with merit, and happiness with virtue. Even faction,

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faction, and religious faction, was constrained to acknowledge the superiority of his genius, in peace as well as in war; and to confess, with a sigh, that the apostate Julian was a lover of his country, and that he deserved the empire of the world (85).

(85) - - - Ductor fortissimus armis; Conditor et legum celeberrimus; ore manûque Consultor patriz; sed non consultor habendz Religionis; amans tercentûm millia Divûm. Persidus ille Deo, sed non et persidus orbi.

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Prudent. Apotheosis, 450, &c.

The consciousness of a generous sentiment seems to have raised the Christian poet above his usual mediocrity.

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CHAP. XXIII.

The Religion of Julian.—Universal Toleration.—He attempts to restore and resorm the Pagan Worship—to rebuild the Temple of Jerusalem.—His art-ful Persecutions of the Christians.—Mutual Zeal and Injustice.

THE character of Apostate has injured the Religion of reputation of Julian; and the enthusiasm Julian. which clouded his virtues, has exaggerated the real and apparent magnitude of his faults. Our partial ignorance may represent him as a philosophic monarch, who fludied to protect, with an equal hand, the religious factions of the empire; and to allay the theological fever which had inflamed the minds of the people, from the edicts of Diocletian to the exile of Athanasius. A more accurate view of the character and conduct of Julian, will remove this favourable prepoffession for a prince who did not escape the general contagion of the times. We enjoy the fingular advantage of comparing the pictures which have been delineated by his fondest admirers, and his implacable enemies. The actions of Julian are faithfully related by a judicious and candid hiftorian, the impartial spectator of his life and The unanimous evidence of his cotemporaries is confirmed by the public and private declarations of the emperor himself; and his various writings express the uniform tenor of his religious

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religious fentiments, which policy would have prompted him to dissemble rather than to affect. A devout and fincere attachment for the gods of Athens and Rome, constituted the ruling passion of Julian (1); the powers of an enlightened understanding were betrayed and corrupted by the influence of superstitious prejudice; and the phantoms which existed only in the mind of the emperor, had a real and pernicious effect on the government of the empire. The vehement zeal of the Christians, who despised the worship, and overturned the altars, of those fabulous deities, engaged their votary in a state of irreconcilable hostility with a very numerous party of his subjects; and he was fometimes tempted, by the defire of victory, or the shame of a repulse, to violate the laws of prudence, and even of juffice. The triumph of the party, which he deserted and opposed, has fixed a stain of infamy on the name of Julian; and the unfuccessful apostate has been overwhelmed with a torrent of pious invectives, of which the fignal was given by the fonorous trumpet (2) of Gregory Nazianzen (3).

(1) I shall transcribe some of his own expressions from a short religious discourse which the Imperial pontist composed to censure the bold impiety of a Cynic: Αλλ' ομως ετω δη τι τες θεες πεφεικα, και Φιλω, μαι σεδω, και πανθ' απλως τα τοιαυτα πασχω, οσπες αν τις και οια μπεις αγαθες δεσωστας, πεος διδασακλες, πεος πατερας, πεος κπθεμονας. Orat. vii. p. 212. The variety and copiousness of the Greek tongue seems inadequate to the servour of his devotion.

(2) The orator, with some eloquence, much enthusiasm, and more vanity, addresses his discourse to heaven and earth, to men and angels, to the living and the dead; and above all, to the great Constantius: (21 715 existance, an odd pagan expression), He concludes with a bold assurance, that he has erected a monument not less durable, and much more portable, than the columns of Hercules. See Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iii. p. 50 iv. p. 134.

(3) See this long invective, which has been injudiciously divided into two orations, in Gregory's Works, tom. i. p. 49-134. Paris, 1630. It

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P fa The interesting nature of the events which were crowded into the short reign of this active emperor, deserve a just and circumstantial narrative. His motives, his counsels, and his actions, as far as they are connected with the history of religion, will be the subject of the prefent chapter.

The cause of his strange and fatal apos-His educatitacy, may be derived from the early period of on and apolhis life, when he was left an orphan in the hands of the murderers of his family. The names of Christ and of Constantius, the ideas of flavery and of religion, were foon affociated in a youthful imagination, which was susceptible of the most lively impressions. The care of his infancy was entrusted to Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia (4), who was related to him on the fide of his mother; and till Julian reached the twentieth year of his age, he received from his Christian preceptors, the education not of a hero but of a faint. The emperor, less jealous of a heavenly, than of an earthly crown, contented himself with the imperfect character of a catechumen, while he bestowed the advantages of baptism (5) on

was published by Gregory and his friend Basil (iv. p. 133.), about six months after the death of Julian, when his remains had been carried to Tarsus (iv. p. 120.); but while Jovian was still on the throne (iii. p. 54. iv. p. 117.). I have derived much affistance from a French version and remarks, printed at Lyons 1735.

(4) Nicomediæ ab Eusebio educatus Episcopo, quem genere longius contingebat. (Ammian. xxii. 9.) Julian never expresses any gratitude towards that Arian prelate; but he celebrates his preceptor, the eunuch Mardonius, and describes his mode of education, which inspired his pupil with a passionate admiration for the genius, and perhaps the religion of Homer. Misopogon, p. 351, 352.

(5) Greg. Naz. iii. p. 70. He laboured to efface that holy mark in the blood, perhaps of a Taurobolium. Baron. Annal. Eccles. A. D. 361.

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ided into 630. It the nephews of Constantine (6). They were even admitted to the inferior offices of the ecclefiaftical order; and Julian publicly read the Holy Scriptures in the church of Nicomedia. The study of religion, which they assiduously cultivated, appeared to produce the fairest fruits of faith and devotion (7). They prayed, they fasted, they distributed alms to the poor, gifts to the clergy, and oblations to the tombs of the martyrs; and the splendid monument of St. Mamas, at Cæsarea, was erected, or at least was undertaken, by the joint labour of Gallus and Julian (8). They respectfully conversed with the bishops who were eminent for superior sanctity, and solicited the benediction of the monks and hermits, who had introduced into Cappadocia the voluntary hardships of the ascetic life (9). As the two princes advanced towards the years of manhood, they discovered, in their religious sentiments, the difference of their characters. The dull and obstinate understanding of Gallus embraced, with implicit zeal, the doctrines of Chrif-

(6) Julian himself (Epist. li. p. 454.) assures the Alexadrians that he had been a Christian (he must mean a sincere one) till the twentieth year of his age.

(7) See his Christian and even ecclesiastical education, in Gregory (iii. p. 58.), Socrates (l. iii. c. r.), and Sozomen, (l. v. c. 2.). He escaped

very narrowly from being a bishop, and perhaps a faint.

(8) The thare of the work which had been allotted to Gallus, was profesured with vigour and success; but the earth obstinately rejected and subverted the structures which were imposed by the sacrilegious hand of Julian. Greg. iii. p. 59, 60, 61. Such a partial earthquake, attested by many living spectators, would form one of the clearest miracles in ecclesiastical story.

(9) The philosopher (Fragment, p. 288.) ridicules the iron chains, &c. of these solitary fanatics (see Tillemont, Mem. Eccles. tom. ix. p. 661, 662.), who had forgot that man is by nature a gentle and social animal, ανθεωπε Φυσιι πολιτικε ζωε και η μεςε. The Pagan supposes, that because they had renounced tite gods, they were possessed and tormented

by evil dæmons.

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Christianity; which never influenced his conduct. or moderated his passions. The mild disposition of the younger brother was less repugnant to the precepts of the Gospel; and his active curiofity might have been gratified by a theological syftem, which explains the mysterious essence of the Deity; and opens the boundless prospect of invisible and future worlds. But the independent spirit of Julian refused to yield the passive and unrelifting obedience which was required, in the name of religion, by the haughty minifters of the church. Their speculative opinions were imposed as positive laws, and guarded by the terrors of eternal punishments; but while they prescribed the rigid formulary of the thoughts, the words, and the actions of the young prince; whilst they silenced his objections, and feverely checked the freedom of his enquiries, they fecretly provoked his impatient genius to disclaim the authority of his ecclesiastical guides. He was educated in the Leffer Afia. amidst the scandals of the Arian controversy (10). The fierce contests of the Eastern bishops, the incessant alterations of their creeds, and the profane motives which appeared to actuate their conduct, insensibly strengthened the prejudice of Julian, that they neither understood nor believed the religion for which they so fiercely contended. Instead of listening to the proofs of Christianity with that favourable attention which adds weight to the most respectable evidence, he heard with Inspicion, and disputed with obstinacy and ac-

⁽¹⁰⁾ See Julian apud Cyril, l. vi. p. 206. l. viii. p. 253. 262. "You perfecute," says he, "those heretics who do not mourn the dead man precisely in the way which you approve." He shews himself a tolerable theologian; but he maintains that the Christian Trinity is not derived from the doctrine of Paul, of Jesus, or of Moses.

cuteness, the doctrines for which he already entertained an invincible aversion. Whenever the young princes were directed to compose declamations on the subject of the prevailing controversies, Julian always declared himself the advocate of Paganism; under the specious excuse that, in the desence of the weaker cause, his learning and ingenuity might be more advantageously exercised and displayed.

He embraces the mythology of Paganism.

As foon as Gallus was invested with the honours of the purple, Julian was permitted to breathe the air of freedom, of literature, and of Paganism (11). The crowd of sophists, who were attracted by the tafte and liberality of their royal pupil, had formed a strict alliance between the learning and the religion of Greece; and the poems of Homer, instead of being admired as the original productions of human genius, were feriously ascribed to the heavenly inspiration of Apollo and the muses. The deities of Olympus, as they are painted by the immortal bard, imprint themselves on the minds which are the least addicted to superstitious credulity. Our familiar knowledge of their names and characters, their forms and attributes, feems to bestow on those airy beings a real and substantial existence; and the pleasing enchantment produces an imperfect and momentary affent of the imagination to those fables, which are the most repugnant to our reason and experience. In the age of Julian, every circumstance contributed to prolong and fortify the illusion; the magnificent temples of Greece and Asia; the works of those artists who had expressed, in painting or in sculpture, the divine

⁽¹¹⁾ Libanius, Orat. Parentalis, c. 9, 10. p. 232, &c. Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iii. p. 61. Eunap. Vit. Sophist. in Maximo, p. 68, 69, 70. Edit. Commelin.

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divine conceptions of the poet; the pomp of feftivals and facrifices; the fucceisful arts of divination; the popular traditions of oracles and prodigies; and the ancient practice of two thousand years. The weakness of polytheism was, in some measure, excused by the moderation of its claims; and the devotion of the Pagans was not incompatible with the most licentious scepticism (12). Instead of an indivisible and regular system, which occupies the whole extent of the believing mind, the mythology of the Greeks was composed of a thousand loose and flexible parts, and the fervant of the gods was at liberty to define the degree and measure of his religious faith. The creed which Julian adopted for his own use, was of the largest dimensions; and, by a strange contradiction, he disdained the salutary yoke of the Gospel, whilst he made a voluntary offering of his reason on the altars of Jupiter and Apollo. One of the orations of Julian is confecrated to the honour of Cybele, the mother of the gods, who required from her effeminate priests the bloody sacrifice, to rainly performed by the madness of the Phrygian boy. The pious emperor condescends to relate, without a blush, and without a smile, the voyage of the goddess from the shores of Pergamus to the mouth of the Tyber; and the stupendous miracle, which convinced the senate and people of Rome that the lump of clay, which their ambassadors had transported over the seas, was endowed with life, and fentiment, and divine power

⁽¹²⁾ A modern philosopher has ingeniously compared the different operations of theism and polytheism, with regard to the doubt or conviction which they produce in the human mind. See Hume's Essays, vol. ii. p. 444-457. in 8vo edit. 1777.

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power (13). For the truth of this prodigy, he appeals to the public monuments of the city; and censures, with some acrimony, the fickly and affected tafte of those men, who impertinently derided the facred traditions of their ancel-

tors (14).

The allego-But the devout philosopher, who fincerely embraced, and warmly encouraged the superstition of the people, referved for himself the privilege of a liberal interpretation; and filently withdrew from the foot of the altars into the fanctuary of the temple. The extravagance of the Grecian mythology proclaimed with a clear and audible voice, that the pious enquirer, instead of being scandalized or satisfied with the literal sense, should diligently explore the occult wisdom, which had been difguifed, by the prudence of antiquity, under the mask of folly and of fable (15). The philosophers of the Platonic school (16), Plotinus, Porphyry, and the divine Iambli-

> (13) The Idean mother landed in Italy about the end of the fecond Punic war. The miracle of Claudia, either virgin or matron, who cleared her fame by diffracing the graver modesty of the Roman ladies, is attested by a cloud of witnesses. Their evidence is collected by Drakenborch (ad Silium Italicum, xvii. . 33.): but we may observe that Livy (xxix. 14.) flides over the transaction with discreet ambiguity.

> (14) I cannot refrain from transcribing the emphatical words of Julian: έμαι δε δοκεί ταις πόλεοι πισευειν μαλλον τα τοιαυτα ή τουτοισι Tois κομφοις, ων το ψυχωρίον δρίων μεν, υγιές δε κόε έν βλεπει. Orat. v. p. 161. Julian likewife declares his firm belief in the ancilia, the holy shields, which dropt from heaven on the Quirinal hill; and pities the strange blindness of the Christians, who preferred the cross to their celestial trophies. Apud Cyril. l. vi. p. 194.

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(15) See the principles of allegory, in Julian (Orat. vii. p. 216. 222.) His reasoning is less absurd than that of some modern theologians, who affert that an extravagant or contradictory doctrine must be divine; fince

no man alive could have thought of inventing it.

(16) Eunapius has made these sophists the subject of a partial and fanaties history : and the learned Brucker (Hist. Philosoph. tom. ii. p. 217-303.) has employed much labour to illustrate their obscure lives, and incomprehensible doctrines.

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amblichus, were admired as the most skilful masters of this allegorical science, which laboured to foften and harmonize the deformed features of paganism. Julian himself, who was directed in the mysterious pursuit by Ædesius, the venerable fuccessor of lamblichus, aspired to the posfession of a treasure, which he esteemed, if we may credit his folemn affeverations, far above the empire of the world (17). It was indeed a treasure, which derived its value only from opinion; and every artist, who flattered himself that he had extracted the precious ore from the furrounding drofs, claimed an equal right of stamping the name and figure the most agreeable to his The fable of Atys and Cybele peculiar fancy. had been already explained by Porphyry; but his labours served only to animate the pious industry of Julian, who invented and published his own allegory of that ancient and mystic tale. This freedom of interpretation, which might gratify the pride of the Platonists, exposed the vanity of their art. Without a tedious detail, the modern reader could not form a just idea of the strange allusions, the forced etymologies, the folemn trifling, and the impenetrable obscurity of these sages, who professed to reveal the system of the universe. As the traditions of pagan mythology were variously related, the facred interpreters were at liberty to felect the most convenient circumstances; and as they translated an arbitrary cypher, they could extract from any fable any sense which was adapted to their favourite system of religion and philosophy. The lascivious

⁽¹⁷⁾ Julian, Orat. vii. p. 222. He swears with the most fervent and enthusiastic devotion; and trembles, lest he should betray too much of these holy mysteries, which the prosane might deride with an implose Sardonic laugh.

lascivious form of a naked Venus was tortured into the discovery of some moral precept, or some physical truth; and the castration of Atys explained the revolution of the sun between the tropics, or the separation of the human soul from vice and error (18).

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Theological fystem of Julian.

The theological fystem of Julian appears to have contained the fublime and important principles of natural religion. But as the faith, which is not founded on revelation, must remain destitute of any firm assurance, the disciple of Plato imprudently relapfed into the habits of vulgar fuperstition; and the popular and philosophic notion of the Deity seems to have been confounded in the practice, the writings, and even in the mind of Julian (19). The pious emperor acknowledged and adored the Eternal Cause of the universe, to whom he ascribed all the perfections of an infinite nature, invisible to the eyes, and inaccessible to the understanding of The supreme God had created, feeble mortals. or rather, in the Platonic language, had generated, the gradual fuccession of dependent spirits, of gods, of dæmons, of heroes, and of men; and every being which derived its existence immediately from the First Cause, received the inherent gift of immortality. That so precious an advantage might not be lavished upon unworthy objects,

⁽¹⁸⁾ See the fifth oration of Julian. But all the allegories which ever iffued from the Platonic school, are not worth the short poem of Catullus on the same extraordinary subject. The transition of Atys, from the wildest enthusiasm to sober pathetic complaint, for his irretrievable loss, must inspire a man with pity, an eunuch with despair.

⁽¹⁹⁾ The true religion of Julian may be deduced from the Cæsars, p. 308. with Spanheim's notes and illustrations, from the fragments in Cyril, I. ii. p. 57, 58. and especially from the theological oration in Solem Regem, p. 130—158. addressed, in the considence of friendship, to the præsect Sallust.

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objects, the Creator had entrusted to the skill and power of the inferior gods, the office of forming the human body, and of arranging the beautiful harmony of the animal, the vegetable, and the mineral kingdoms. To the conduct of these divine ministers he delegated the temporal government of this lower world; but their imperfect administration is not exempt from difcord or error. The earth, and its inhabitants, are divided among them, and the characters of Mars or Minerva, of Mercury or Venus, may be distinctly traced in the laws and manners of their peculiar votaries. As long as our immortal fouls are confined in a mortal prison, it is our interest, as well as our duty, to solicit the favour, and to deprecate the wrath, of the powers of heaven; whose pride is gratified by the devotion of mankind; and whose groffer parts may be supposed to derive some nourishment from the The inferior gods might fumes of facrifice (20). fometimes condescend to animate the statues, and to inhabit the temples, which were dedicated to their honour. They might occasionally vilit the earth, but the heavens were the proper throne and fymbol of their glory. The invamable order of the fun, moon, and stars, was haftily admitted by Julian, as a proof of their eternal duration; and their eternity was a sufficient evidence that they were the workmanship, not of an inferior deity, but of the Omnipotent King. In the fystem of the Platonists, the visi-Vol. IV.

⁽²⁰⁾ Julian adopts this gross conception, by ascribing it to his favourite Marcus Antoninus (Cæsares, p. 333.). The Stoics and Platonists hesitated between the analogy of bodies, and the purity of spirits; yet the gravest philosophers inclined to the whimsical fancy of Aristophanes and Lucian, that an unbelieving age might starve the immortal gods. See Observations de Spanheim, p. 284. 444, &c.

ble, was a type of the invisible, world. The celestial bodies, as they were informed by a divine spirit, might be considered as the objects the most worthy of religious worship. The Sun, whose genial influence pervades and fustains the universe, justly claimed the adoration of mankind, as the bright representative of the Logos, the lively, the rational, the beneficent image of the intellectual Father (21).

Fanaticism losophers.

In every age, the absence of genuine inspiraof the phi-tion is supplied by the strong illusions of enthufialm, and the mimic arts of imposture. If, in the time of Julian, these arts had been practised only by the pagan priefts, for the support of an expiring cause, some indulgence might perhaps be allowed to the interest and habits of the sa-But it may appear a subject cerdotal character. of surprise and scandal, that the philosophers themselves should have contributed to abuse the superstitious credulity of mankind (22), and that the Grecian mysteries should have been supported by the magic or theurgy of the modern Platonists. They arrogantly pretended to controul the order of nature, to explore the fecrets of futurity, to command the service of the inferior dæmons, to enjoy the view and conversation of the superior gods, and, by disengaging the foul

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(21) Ηλιου λεγω, το ζων αγαλμα και εμψυχου, και ευνεί, και αγαθοεργον τε νοητέ πατρος. Julian, epift. xli. In another place (apud Cyril. I. ii. p. 69), he calls the Sun, God, and the throne of God. Julian believed the Platonician Trinity; and only blames the Christians for preferring a mortal, to an immortal, Logos.

⁽²²⁾ The fophists of Eunapius perform as many miracles as the faints of the defart; and the only circumstance in their favour is, that they are of a lefs gloomy complexion. Instead of devils with horns and tails, Iamblichus eyoked the genii of love, Eros and Anteros, from two adjacent fountains. Two beautiful boys issued from the water, fondly embraced him as their father, and retired at his command. P. 26, 27.

foul from her material bands, to reunite that immortal particle with the Infinite and Divine Spirit.

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The devout and fearless curiosity of Julian Initiation tempted the philosophers with the hopes of an and fanatieasy conquest; which, from the situation of their lian. young profelyte, might be productive of the most important consequences (23). Julian imbibed the first rudiments of the Platonic doctrines from the mouth of Ædesius, who had fixed at Pergamus his wandering and perfecuted school. But as the declining strength of that venerable fage was unequal to the ardour, the diligence, the rapid conception of his pupil, two of his most learned disciples, Chrysanthes and Eusebius, supplied, at his own desire, the place of their aged master. These philosophers seem to have prepared and distributed their respective parts; and they artfully contrived, by dark hints, and affected disputes, to excite the impatient hopes of the aspirant, till they delivered him into the hands of their affociate Maximus, the boldest and most skilful master of the Theurgic science. By his hands, Julian was secretly initiated at Ephesus, in the twentieth year of his age. His relidence at Athens confirmed this unnatural alliance of philosophy and superstition. He obtained the privilege of a solemn initiation into the mysteries of Eleusis, which, amidst the general decay of the Grecian worship, still retained some vestiges of their primæval sanctity; and such was the zeal of Julian, that he afterwards

⁽²³⁾ The dextrous management of these sophists, who played their credulous pupil into each other's hands, is fairly told by Eunapius (p. 69—76.), with unsuspecting simplicity. The Abbé de la Bleterie understands, and neatly describes, the whole comedy (Vie de Julien, p. 61—67.).

wards invited the Eleusinian pontiff to the court of Gaul for the fole purpose of consummating, by mystic rites and sacrifices, the great work of his fanctification. As these ceremonies were performed in the depth of caverns, and in the filence of the night; and as the inviolable fecret of the mysteries was preserved by the discretion of the initiated, I shall not presume to describe the horrid founds, and fiery apparitions, which were presented to the senses, or the imagination, of the credulous aspirant (24), till the visions of comfort and knowledge broke upon him in a blaze of celestial light (25). In the caverns of Ephefus and Eleufis, the mind of Julian was penetrated with fincere, deep, and unalterable enthusiasm; though he might sometimes exhibit the vicissitudes of pious fraud and hypocris, which may be observed, or at least suspected in the characters of the most conscientious fanatics. From that moment he confecrated his life to the service of the gods; and while the occur pations, of war, of government, and of fludy feemed to claim the whole measure of his time a stated portion of the hours of the night was invariably referved for the exercise of private The temperance which adorned the devotion. fevere manners of the foldier and the philosopher, was connected with some strict and frive lous rules of religious abstinence; and it was it hone

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⁽²⁴⁾ When Julian, in a momentary panic, made the fign of the contributed disappeared (Greg. Naz. Orat. iii. p. 71.). Gregor fupposes that they were frightened, but the priests declared that they we indignant. The reader, according to the measure of his faith, will be termine this profound question.

⁽²⁵⁾ A dark and distant view of the terrors and joys of initiation shewn by Dion, Chrysoslom, Themistius, Proclus, and Stobæus. The learned author of the Divine Legation has exhibited their words (vol. 1239. 247, 248. 280. edit. 1765.), which he dexterously or forcibly apply to his own hypothesis.

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honour of Pan or Mercury, of Hecate or Isis, that Julian, on particular days, denied himself the use of some particular food, which might have been offensive to his tutelar deities. By these voluntary fasts, he prepared his senses and his understanding for the frequent and familiar vifits with which he was honoured by the celestial powers. Notwithstanding the modest silence of Julian himself, we may learn from his faithful friend, the orator Libanius, that he lived in a perpetual intercourse with the gods and goddesses; that they descended upon earth, to enoy the conversation of their favourite hero; that they gently interrupted his flumbers, by touching his hand or his hair; that they warned him of every impending danger, and conducted him, by their infallible wisdom, in every action of his life; and that he had acquired fuch an intimate knowledge of his heavenly guests, as readily to distinguish the voice of Jupiter from that of Minerva, and the form of Apollo from the figure of Hercules (26). These sleeping or waking vilions, the ordinary effects of abstinence and fanaticism, would almost degrade the emperor to the level of an Egyptian monk. the useless lives of Antony or Pachomius were confumed in these vain occupations. could break from the dream of superstition to arm himself for battle; and after vanquishing in the field the enemies of Rome, he calmly retired into his tent, to dictate the wife and falutary laws of an empire, or to indulge his genius in the elegant pursuits of literature and phiolophy.

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⁽²⁶⁾ Julian's modesty confined him to obscure and occasional hints; but Libanius expatiates with pleasure on the fasts and visions of the religious hero (Legat. ad Julian, p. 157. and Orat. Parental. c. lxxxiii. p. 309, 310.).

His religious distimulati-

The important fecret of the apostacy of Julian was entrusted to the fidelity of the initiated, with whom he was united by the facred ties of friendship and religion (27). The pleasing rumour was cautiously circulated among the adherents of the ancient worship; and his future greatness became the object of the hopes, the prayers, and the predictions of the pagans, in every province of the empire. From the zeal and virtues of their royal profelyte, they fondly expected the cure of every evil, and the reftoration of every bleffing; and instead of disapproving of the ardour of their pious wishes, Julian ingenuously confessed, that he was ambitious to attain a fituation in which he might be ufeful to his country, and to his religion. But this religion was viewed with an hostile eye by the successor of Constantine, whose capricious passions alternately faved and threatened the life of The arts of magic and divination were strictly prohibited under a despotic government, which condescended to fear them; and if the pagans were reluctantly indulged in the exercise of their superstition, the rank of Julian would have excepted him from the general toleration. The apostate soon became the presumptive heir of the monarchy, and his death could alone have appealed the just apprehensions of the Christi-But the young prince, who aspired ans (28).

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(28) Gregory (iii. p. 50.), with inhuman zeal, censures Constantials for sparing the infant apostate (xaxes owneres). His French translates (p. 265.) cautiously observes, that such expressions must not be prises la lettre.

⁽²⁷⁾ Libanius, Orat. Parent. e. x. p. 233, 234. Gallus had some reason to suspect the secret apostacy of his brother; and in a letter which may be received as genuine, he exhorts Julian to adhere to the religion of their ancestors; an argument, which, as it should seem, was not yet persectly ripe. See Julian. Op. p. 454. and Hist. de Jovien, tom. in p. 141.

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to the glory of a hero rather than of a martyr, consulted his safety by differibling his religion; and the easy temper of a polytheism permitted him to join in the public worthip of a feet which he inwardly despised. Libanius has considered the hypocrify of his friend as a subject, not of censure, but of praise. " As the statues of the " gods," fays that orator, " which have been " defiled with filth, are again placed in a mag-" nificent temple; fo the beauty of truth was " feated in the mind of Julian, after it had been " purified from the errors and follies of his edu-" cation. His sentiments were changed; but " as it would have been dangerous to have a-" vowed his fentiments, his conduct still conti-" nued the same. Very different from the ass " in Æsop, who disguised himself with a hon's " hide, our lion was obliged to conceal himself " under the skin of an ass; and, while he em-" braced the dictates of reason, to obey the laws " of prudence and necessity (29)." The diffimulation of Julian lasted above ten years, from his fecret initiation at Ephelus, to the beginning of the civil war; when he declared himself at once the implacable enemy of Christ and of Con-This state of constraint might contribute to strengthen his devotion; and as soon as he had fatisfied the obligation of affifting, on folemn festivals, at the assemblies of the Christians, Julian returned, with the impatience of a lover, to burn his free and voluntary incense on the domestic chapels of Jupiter and Mercury. But as every act of diffimulation must be painful to an ingenuous spirit, the profession of Christianity encreased the aversion of Julian for a religi-

⁽²⁹⁾ Libanius, Orat. Parental. c. ix. p. 233.

on, which oppressed the freedom of his mind, and compelled him to hold a conduct repugnant to the noblest attributes of human nature, fince-

rity and courage.

He writes against

The inclination of Julian might prefer the Christianity. gods of Homer, and of the Scipios, to the new faith, which his uncle had established in the Roman empire; and in which he himself had been fanctified by the facrament of baptism. But as a philosopher, it was incumbent on him to justify his diffent from Christianity, which was supported by the number of its converts, by the chain of prophecy, the splendour of miracles, and the weight of evidence. The elaborate work (30), which he composed amidst the preparations of the Persian war, contained the substance of those arguments which he had long revolved in his mind. Some fragments have been transcribed and preserved, by his adversary, the vehement Cyril of Alexandria (31); and they exhibit a very fingular mixture of wit and learning, of fophistry and fanaticism. The elegance of the style, and the rank of the author, recommended his writings to the public attention (32). and in the impious lift of the enemies of Christianity,

> (30) Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. l. v. c. viii. p. 88 -90.) and Lardne (Heathen Testimonies, vol. iv. p. 44-47) have accurately compiled to that can now be discovered of Julian's work against the Christians.

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(31) About seventy years after the death of Julian, he executed a til which had been feebly attempted by Philip of Side, a prolix and contemptible writer. Even the work of Cyril has not entirely fatisfied the most favourable judges : and the Abbé de la Bleterie (Preface à l'Hill de Jovien, p. 30. 32.) wishes that some theologien philosophe (a strange con taur) would undertake the refutation of Julian.

(32) Libanius (Orat. Parental. c. lxxxvii. p. 313.), who has been ful pected of affifting his friend, prefers this divine vindication (Orat. ix. necem Julian, p. 255. edit. Morel.) to the writings of Porphyry. Hi judgment may be arraigned (Socrates, I. iii. c. 23.), but Libanius canor

be accused of flattery to a dead prince.

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nity, the celebrated name of Porphyry was efaced by the superior merit or reputation of Julin. The minds of the faithful were either feluced, or scandalized, or alarmed; and the pagans, who fometimes prefumed to engage in the inequal dispute, derived, from the popular work of their Imperial missionary, an inexhaustible upply of fallacious objections. But in the atliduous profecution of these theological studies, the emperor of the Romans imbibed the illiberal prejudices and passions of a polemic divine. He contracted an irrevocable obligation, to maintain and propagate his religious opinions; and whilft he fecretly applauded the strength and dexterity with which he wielded the weapons of controversy, he was tempted to distrust the fincerity, or to despise the understandings, of his antagonists, who could obstinately resist the force of reason and eloquence.

The Christians, who beheld with horror and Universal indignation the apostacy of Julian, had much more to fear from his power than from his arguments. The pagans, who were conscious of his servent zeal, expected, perhaps with impatience, that the slames of persecution should be immediately kindled against the enemies of the gods; and that the ingenious malice of Julian would invent some cruel refinements of death and torture, which had been unknown to the rude and inexperienced fury of his predecessors. But the hopes, as well as the fears, of the religious factions were apparently disappointed, by the prudent humanity of a prince (33), who was care-

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⁽³³⁾ Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. lviii. p. 283, 284.) has eloquently explained the tolerating principles and conduct of his Imperial friend. In a very remarkable epiftle to the people of Bostra, Julian himself (epift.

ful of his own fame, of the public peace, and of the rights of mankind. Instructed by history and reflection, Julian was perfuaded, that if the difeases of the body may sometimes be cured by falutary violence, neither steel nor fire can eradicate the erroneous opinions of the mind. The reluctant victim may be dragged to the foot of the altar, but the heart still abhors and disclaims the sacrilegious act of the hand. Religious obstinacy is hardened and exasperated by oppression; and, as soon as the persecution subfides, those who have yielded, are restored as penitents, and those who have relisted, are honoured as faints and martyrs. If Julian adopted the unfuccessful cruelty of Diocletian and his colleagues, he was fensible that he should stain his memory with the name of tyrant, and add new glories to the Catholic church, which had derived firength and encrease from the severity of the pagan magistrates. Actuated by these motives, and apprehensive of diffurbing the repole of an unfettled reign, Julian furprised the world by an edict, which was not unworthy of a statesman, or a philosopher. He extended to all the inhabitants of the Roman world, the benefits of a free and equal toleration; and the only hardship which he inflicted on the Christians, was to deprive them of the power of tormenting their fellow-subjects, whom they stigmatifed with the odious titles of idolaters and heretics. The Pagans received a gracious permission, or rather an express order, to open ALL their temples (34); and they were at once delivered from

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hi.) professes his moderation, and betrays his real; which is acknowledged by Ammianus, and exposed by Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 72.).

⁽³⁴⁾ In Greece, the temples of Minerva were opened by his experience of the death of Constantius (Liban. Orat. Parent. c. 56

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the oppressive laws, and arbitrary vexations, which they had fustained under the reign of Constantine, and of his fons. At the same time, the bishops and clergy, who had been banished by the Arian monarch, were recalled from exile, and restored to their respective churches; the Donatists, the Novatians, the Macedonians, the Eunomians, and those who, with a more prosperous fortune, adhered to the doctrine of the council of Nice. Julian, who inderstood and derided their theological disputes, nvited to the palace the leaders of the hostile lects, that he might enjoy the agreeable spectacle of their furious encounters. The clamour of controverfy fometimes provoked the emperor to exclaim, "Hear me! the Franks have heard ' me, and the Alemanni;" but he foon difcovered that he was now engaged with more obitihate and implacable enemies; and though he exerted the powers of oratory to perfuade them to live in concord, or at least in peace, he was perfectly fatisfied, before he dismissed them from his presence, that he had nothing to dread from the union of the Christians. The impartial Ammianus has ascribed this affected clemency to the delire of fomenting the intestine divisions of the church; and the infidious defign of underminng the foundations of Christianity, was infeparably connected with the zeal, which Julian professed, to restore the ancient religion of the empire (35).

As

p. 280.); and Julian declares himself a pagan in his public manifelto to the Athenians. This unquestionable evidence may correct the hasty affertion of Ammianus, who seems to suppose Constantinople to be the place where he discovered his attachment to the gods.

(35) Ammianus, xxii. 5. Sozomen, I. v. c. 5. Bestia moritur, tranquillitas redit omnes episcopi qui de propriis sedibus sucrant exter-

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Zeal and devotion of Julian in tion of Paganism.

As foon as he ascended the throne, he assumed, according to the custom of his predecesthe restora- fors, the character of supreme pontiff; not only as the most honourable title of Imperial greatness, but as a facred and important office; the duties of which he was refolved to execute with pious diligence. As the business of the state prevented the emperor from joining every day in the public devotion of his subjects, he dedicated a domestic chapel to his tutelar deity the Sun; his gardens were filled with statues and altars of the gods; and each apartment of the palace displayed the appearance of a magnificent temple. Every morning he faluted the parent of light with a facrifice; the blood of another victim was shed at the moment when the Sun funk below the horizon; and the Moon. the Stars, and the Genii of the night, received their respective and seasonable honours from the indefatigable devotion of Julian. On solemn festivals, he regularly visited the temple of the god or goddess to whom the day was peculiarly consecrated, and endeavoured to excite the religion of the magistrates and people by the example of his own zeal. Instead of maintaining the lofty state of a monarch, distinguished by the splendor of his purple, and encompassed by the golden shields of his guards, Julian solicited, with respectful eagerness, the meanest offices which contributed to the worship of the gods. Amidst the facred but licentious crowd of priests, of inferior ministers, and of female dancers, who were dedicated to the service of the temple,

> minati per indulgentiam novi principis ad ecclesias redeunt. Jerom. 26versus Luciferianos, tom. ii. p. 143. Optatus accuses the Donatits so: owing their fafety to an apollate (l. ii. c. 16. p. 36, 37. edit. Dupin).

it was the business of the emperor to bring the wood, to blow the fire, to handle the knife, to flaughter the victim, and thrusting his bloody hands into the bowels of the expiring animal, to draw forth the heart or liver, and to read, with the confummate skill of an haruspex, the imaginary figns of future events. The wifeft of the pagans centured this extravagant superstition, which affected to despise the restraints of prudence and decency. Under the reign of a prince, who practifed the rigid maxims of œconomy, the expence of religious worship consumed a very large portion of the revenue; a constant supply of the scarcest and most beautiful birds was transported from distant climates, to bleed on the altars of the gods; an hundred oxen were frequently facrificed by Julian on one and the same day; and it soon became a popular jeft, that if he should return with conquest from the Persian war, the breed of horned cattle must infallibly be extinguished. Yet this expence may appear inconfiderable, when it is compared with the iplendid prefents which were offered, either by the hand, or by order, of the emperor, to all the celebrated places of devotion in the Roman world; and with the sums allotted to repair and decorate the ancient temples. which had fuffered the filent decay of time, or the recent injuries of Christian rapine. couraged by the example, the exhortations, the liberality, of their pious fovereign, the cities and families refumed the practice of their neglected ceremonies. "Every part of the world," exclaims Libanius, with devout transport, "dif-" played the triumph of religion; and the grateful prospect of flaming altars, bleeding " victims, the smoke of incense, and a solemn " train

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"music was heard on the tops of the highest "mountains; and the same ox afforded a sacri-

" fice for the gods, and a supper for their joyous

" votaries (36)."

Reformation of Paganism.

But the genius and power of Julian were unequal to the enterprise of restoring a religion, which was destitute of theological principles, of moral precepts, and of ecclefiaftical discipline, which rapidly haftened to decay and diffolution, and was not susceptible of any solid or consistent reformation. The jurisdiction of the supreme pontiff, more especially after that office had been united with the Imperial dignity, comprehended the whole extent of the Roman empire. Julian named for his vicars, in the feveral provinces, the priefts and philosophers, whom he esteemed the best qualified to co-operate in the execution of his great defign; and his pastoral letters (37), if we may use that name, still reprefent a very curious sketch of his wishes and intentions. He directs, that in every city the facerdotal order should be composed, without any distinction of birth or fortune, of those persons who were the most conspicuous for their love of

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⁽³⁶⁾ The reftoration of the Pagan worship is described by Julian (Misopogon, p. 346.), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 60, p. 286, 287. and Orat. Consular ad Julian. p. 245, 246. edit. Morel.), Ammianus (xxi. 72.), and Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iv. p. 121). These writers agree it the essential, and even minute, facts: but the different lights in which they view the extreme devotion of Julian, are expressive of the gradutions of self-applause, passionate admiration, mild reproof, and participated invective.

⁽³⁷⁾ See Julian. Epistol. xlix. lxii, lxiii. and a long curious fragment without beginning or end (p. 288—305.). The supreme pontist deride the Mosaic history, and the Christian discipline, prefers the Greek poet to the Hebrew prophets, and palliates, with the skill of a Jesuit, the relative worthip of images.

he gods, and of men. " If they are guilty," ontinues he, " of any scandalous offence, they should be censured or degraded by the superior pontiff; but, as long as they retain their rank, they are entitled to the respect of the magistrates and people. Their humility may be shewn in the plainness of their domestic garb; their dignity, in the pomp of holy vestments. When they are summoned in their turn to officiate before the altar, they ought not, during the appointed number of days, to depart from the precincts of the temple; nor should a fingle day be fuffered to elapse, without the prayers and the facrifice, which they are obliged to offer for the prosperity of the state, and of individuals. The exercise of their sacred functions requires an immaculate purity. both of mind and body; and even when they are difmiffed from the temple to the occupations of common life, it is incumbent on them to excel in decency and virtue the rest of their fellow-citizens. The prieft of the gods should never be feen in theatres or taverns. His conversation should be chaste, his diet temperate, his friends of honourable reputation; and, if he fometimes visits the Forum or the Palace, he should appear only as the advocate of those who have vainly folicited either justice or mercy. His studies should be suited to the fanctity of his profession. Licentious tales, or comedies, or fatires, must be banished from his library; which ought folely to confift of hiftorical and philosophical writings; of history which is founded in truth, and of philotophy which is connected with religion. The impious opinions of the Epicureans and Sceptics " deserve

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" deserve his abhorrence and contempt (38); but he should diligently study the systems of " Pythagoras, of Plato, and of the Stoics, " unanimously teach that there are gods; that " the world is governed by their providence; "" that their goodness is the source of every tem-" poral bleffing; and that they have prepared " for the human foul a future state of reward or " punishment." The Imperial pontiff inculcates, in the most persuasive language, the duties of benevolence and hospitality; exhorts his inferior clergy to recommend the universal practice of those virtues; promises to assist their indigence from the public treasury; and declares his resolution of establishing hospitals in every city, where the poor should be received without any invidious distinction of country or of religion. Julian beheld with envy the wife and humane regulations of the church; and he very frankly confesses his intention to deprive the Christians of the applause, as well as advantage, which they had acquired by the exclusive practice of charity and beneficence (39). The same spirit of imitation might dispose the emperor to adopt several ecclesiastical institutions, the use and importance of which were approved by the fuccess of his enemies. But if these imaginary plans of reformation had been realized, the forced and

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(38) The exultation of Julian (p. 301), that these impious sects, and even their writings, are extinguished, may be consistent enough with the sacerdotal character: but it is unworthy of a philosopher to wish that any opinions and arguments the most repugnant to his own should be concealed from the knowledge of mankind.

(39) Yet he infinuates, that the Christians, under the pretence of charity, inveigled children from their religion and parents, conveyed them on shipboard, and devoted those victims to a life of poverty or servitude in a remote country (p. 305.). Had the charge been proved, it was his duty, not to complain, but to punish.

imperfect copy would have been less beneficial to Paganism, than honourable to Christianity (40). The Gentiles, who peaceably followed the customs of their ancestors, were rather surprised than pleased with the introduction of foreign manners; and in the short period of his reign, Julian had frequent occasions to complain of the want of servour of his own party (41).

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The enthusiasin of Julian prompted him to The philo-embrace the friends of Jupiter as his personal sophers. friends and brethren; and though he partially overlooked the merit of Christian constancy, he admired and rewarded the noble perseverance of those Gentiles who had preferred the favour of the gods to that of the emperor (42). If they cultivated the litterature, as well as the religion, of the Greeks, they acquired an additional claim to the friendship of Julian, who ranked the Muses in the number of his tutelar deities. In the religion which he had adopted, piety and learning were almost synonimous (43); and a crowd of poets, of rhetoricians, and of philosophers, hastened to the Imperial court, to occupy VOL. IV. the

(40) Gregory Nazianzen is facetious, ingenious, and argumentative (Orat. iii p. 101, 102, &c.) He ridicules the folly of such vain imitation; and amuses himself with inquiring, what lessons, moral or theological, could be extracted from the Grecian fables.

(41) He accuses one of his pontiffs of a secret confederacy with the Christian bishops and presbyters (Epist. Ixii.). Ο εων εν πολλην μεν λιγωριών εσών ημιν προς τες θεες; and again, ημώς δε ετω ραθυμώς, και Epist. Ixiii.

(42) He praises the fidelity of Callixene, priestess of Ceres, who had been twice as constant as Penelope, and rewards her with the Priesthood of the Phrygian goddess at Pessinus (Julian. Epist. xxi.). He applauds the firmness of Sopater of Hierapolis, who had been repeatedly pressed by Constantius and Gallus to apostatize (Epist. xxvii. p. 401).

(43) O de vous ζων αδελ Φα λογες τε και θεων ιερα. Orat. Parent. 77. p. 302. The same sentiment is frequently inculcated by Julian, Libanius, and the rest of their party.

the vacant places of the bilhops, who had feduced the credulity of Constantius. His fuccesfor effectived the ties of common initiation as far more facred than those of consanguinity: he chose his favourites among the sages, who were deeply skilled in the occult sciences of magic and divination; and every impostor, who pretended to reveal the fecrets of futurity, was affured of enjoying the prefent hour in honour and affluence (44). Among the philosophers, Maximus obtained the most eminent rank in the friendship of his royal disciple, who communicated, with unreserved confidence, his actions, his sentiments, and his religious defigns, during the anxious suspense of the civil war (45). As soon as Julian had taken possession of the palace of Constantinople, he dispatched an honourable and pressing invitation to Maximus; who then resided at Sardes in Lydia, with Chryfanthius, the affociate of his art and fludies. The prudent and fuperstitious Chrysanthius refused to undertakes journey which shewed itself, according to the rules of divination, with the most threatening and malignant aspect: but his companion, whole fanaticism was of a bolder cast, persisted in his interrogations, till he had extorted from the god a feeming confent to his own wishes, and those of the emperor. The journey of Maximu through the cities of Asia, displayed the triump of philosophic vanity; and the magistrates view with each other in the honourable reception which they prepared for the friend of their fovereign Tulia

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⁽⁴⁴⁾ The curiofity and credulity of the emperor, who tried ever mode of divination, are fairly exposed by Ammianus, xxii. 12.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ Julian. Epift. xxxviii. Three other epittles (xv, xvi. xxxix) the fame ftyle of friendship and confidence, are addressed to the philosoph Maximus.

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Julian

Julian was pronouncing an oration before the fenate, when he was informed of the arrival of The emperor immediately inter-Maximus. rupted his discourse, advanced to meet him, and, after a tender embrace, conducted him by the hand into the midst of the assembly: where he publicly acknowledged the benefits which he had derived from the instructions of the philosopher. Maximus (46), who foon acquired the confidence, and influenced the councils, of Julian, was infenfibly corrupted by the temptations of a court. His dress became more splendid, his demeanour more lofty, and he was exposed, under a succeeding reign, to a disgraceful inquiry into the means by which the disciple of Plato had accumulated, in the short duration of his favour, a very scandalous proportion of wealth. Of the other philosophers and sophists, who were invited to the Imperial residence by the choice of Julian, or by the fuccess of Maximus, few were able to preserve their innocence, or their reputation (47). The liberal gifts of money, lands, and houses, were infufficient to fatiate their rapacious avarice; and the indignation of the people were justly excited by the remembrance of their abject poverty and difinterested profesfions. The penetration of Julian could not always be deceived: but he was unwilling to de**fpife**

(46) Eunapius (in Maximo, p. 77, 78, 79, and in Chrysanthio, p. 147, 148.) has minutely related these anecdotes, which he conceives to be the most important events of the age. Yet he fairly consesses the frailty of Maximus. His reception at Constantinople is described by Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 86. p. 301.) and Ammianus (xxii. 7.).

(47) Chrysanthius, who had refused to quit Lydia, was created highpriest of the province. His cautious and temperate use of power secured him after the revolution; and he lived in peace; while Maximus, Priscus, &c. were persecuted by the Christian ministers. See the adventures of those fanacic sophists, collected by Brucker, tom. ii. p. 281—293. fpise the characters of those men whose talents deserved his esteem; he desired to escape the double reproach of imprudence and inconstancy; and he was apprehensive of degrading, in the eyes of the profane, the honour of letters and of

religion (48).

The favour of Julian was almost equally di-Convertions. vided between the Pagans, who had firmly adhered to the worship of their ancestors, and the Christians, who prudently embraced the religion of their fovereign. The acquisition of new profelytes (49) gratified the ruling passions of his foul, superfition and vanity; and he was heard to declare, with the enthuliasm of a missionary, that if he could render each individual richer than Midas, and every city greater than Babylon, he should not esteem himself the benefactor of mankind, unless, at the same time, he could reclaim his subjects from their impious revolt against the immortal gods (50). A prince, who had studied human nature, and who possessed the treasures of the Roman empire, could adapt his arguments, his promises, and his rewards, to every order of Christians (51); and the merit of a feasonable

(49) Under the reign of Lewis XIV. his subjects of every rank aspired to the glorious title of Convertiffeur, expressive of their zeal and success in making profelytes. The word and the idea are growing obsolete in France; may they never be introduced into England!

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(50) See the strong expressions of Libanius, which were probably those

of Julian himself (O-at. Parent. c. 59. p. 285.).

(51) When Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. x. p. 167.) is desirous to mag-

⁽⁴⁸⁾ See Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 101, 102. p. 324, 325, 326.) and Eunapius (Vit. Sophitt. in Proæresio, p. 126.). Some students, whose expectations perhaps were groundless, or extravagant, retired in difguilt (Greg. Naz. Orat. iv. p. 120.). It is strange that we should not be able to contradict the title of one of Tillemont's chapters (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 960), "La Cour de Julien est pleine de philo-" fophes et de gens perdûs."

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a feafonable conversion was allowed to supply the defects of a candidate; or even to expiate the guilt of a criminal. As the army is the most forcible engine of absolute power, Julian applied himself, with peculiar diligence, to corrupt the religion of his troops, without whose hearty concurrence every measure must be dangerous and unfuccessful; and the natural temper of soldiers made this conquest as easy as it was important. The legions of Gaul devoted themselves to the faith, as well as to the fortunes, of their victorious leader; and even before the death of Constantius, he had the satisfaction of announcing to his friends, that they affifted with fervent devotion, and voracious appetite, at the facrifices, which were repeatedly offered in his camp, of whole hecatombs of fat oxen (52). armies of the East, which had been trained under the standard of the cross, and of Constantius, required a more artful and expensive mode of persuasion. On the days of solemn and public festivals, the emperor received the homage, and rewarded the merit, of the troops. His throne of state was encircled with the military enfigns of Rome and the republic; the holy name of Christ was erazed from the Labarum; and the fymbols of war, of majesty, and of pagan superstition, were so dexterously blended, that the faithful

nify the Christian firmness of his brother Cæsarius, physician to the Imperial court, he owns that Cæsarius disputed with a formidable adversary, πολυν εν οπλοις, και μεγαν εν λογων δεινοτητι. In his invectives, he scarcely allows any share of wit or courage to the apostate.

(52) Julian. Epist. xxxviii. Ammianus, xxii. 12. Adeo ut in dies pæne singulos milites carnis distentiore sagina victitantes incultius, potusque aviditate correpti, humeris impositi transcuntium per plateas, ex publicis ædibus - - - ad sua diversoria portarentur. The devout prince and the indignant historian describe the same scene; and in Illyricum or Antioch, similar causes must have produced similar effects.

faithful subject incurred the guilt of idolatry, when he respectfully saluted the person or image of his fovereign. The foldiers paffed fuccessively in review; and each of them, before he received from the hand of Julian a liberal donative, proportioned to his rank and fervices, was required to cast a few grains of incense into the flame which burnt upon the altar. Some Christian confessors might resist, and others might repent; but the far greater number, allured by the prospect of gold, and awed by the presence of the emperor, contracted the criminal engagement; and their future perseverance in the worship of the gods was enforced by every consideration of duty and of interest. By the frequent repitition of these arts, and at the expence of fums which would have purchased the service of half the nations of Scythia, Julian gradually acquired for his troops the imaginary protection of the gods, and for himself the firm and effectual support of the Roman legions (53). It is indeed more than probable, that the reftoration and encouragement of Paganism revealed a multitude of pretended Christians, who, from motives of temporal advantage, had acquiesced in the religion of the former reign; and who afterwards returned, with the same flexibility of conscience.

The Jews.

While the devout monarch incessantly laboured to restore and propagate the religion of his ancestors, he embraced the extraordinary design of rebuilding the temple of Jerusalem. In a public

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⁽⁵³⁾ Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 74, 75. 83-86.) and Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. Ixxxi. Ixxxii. p. 307, 308.) περι ταυτη την σπεδην, εκ αρισμαι πλετον ανηλωσθαι μεγαν. The fephist owns and justifies the expense of these military conversions.

public epiftle (54) to the nation or community of the Jews, dispersed through the provinces, he pities their misfortunes, condemns their oppresfors, praises their constancy, declares himself heir gracious protector, and expresses a pious hope, that after his return from the Perfian war, he may be permitted to pay his grateful vows to the Almighty in his holy city of Jerusalem. The blind superstition, and abject slavery, of those unfortunate exiles, must excite the conempt of a philosophic emperor; but they deserved the friendship of Julian, by their implacable hatred of the Christian name. The baren synagogue abhorred and envied the fecundity of the rebellious church: the power of the lews was not equal to their malice; but their gravest rabbis approved the private murder of an apostate (55); and their seditious clamours had often awakened the indolence of the pagan magistrates. Under the reign of Constantine, the Jews became the subjects of their revolted children, nor was it long before they experienced the bitterness of domestic tyranny. The civil immunities which had been granted, or confirmed, by Severus, were gradually repealed by the Christian princes; and a rash tumult, excited by the

(54) Julian's epiftle (xxv.) is addressed to the community of the Jews. Aldus (Venet. 1499.) has branded it with an zi yenoros; but this sligma is justly removed by the subsequent editors, Petavius and Spanheim. The epiftle is mentioned by Sozomen (l.v. c. 22), and the purport of it is confirmed by Gregory (Orat. iv. p. 111.) and by Julian himself, Fragment. p. 295.

(55) The Milnah denounced death against those who abandoned the foundation. The judgment of zeal is explained by Marsham (Canon. Chron. p. 161, 162. edit. fol. London, 1672.) and Basnage (Hist. des Juifs, tom. viii. p. 120.). Constantine made a law to protect Christian converts from Judaism, Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. viii. leg. 1. Godefroy, tom.

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the Jews of Palestine (56), seemed to justify the lucrative modes of oppression, which were invented by the bishops and eunuchs of the court of Constantius. The Jewish patriarch, who was still permitted to exercise a precarious jurisdiction, held his refidence at Tiberias (57); and the neighbouring cities of Palestine were filled with the remains of a people, who fondly adhered to the promised land. But the edict of Hadrian was renewed and enforced; and they viewed from afar the walls of the holy city, which were profaned in their eyes by the triumph of the cross, and the devotion of the Christians (58).

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In the midst of a rocky and barren country, the walls of Jerusalem (59) inclosed the two mountains of Sion and Acra, within an oval figure of about three English miles (60). Towards the fouth, the upper town, and the fortress of David, were erected on the lofty ascent of Mount Sion: on the north fide, the buildings of the lower town covered the spacious

(57) The city and synagogue of Tiberias are curiously described by Re-

land. Palestin. tom. ii. p. 1036-1042.

(58) Basnage has fully illustrated the state of the Jews under Constantine and his fuccessors (tom. viii. c. iv. p. 111-153.).

(59) Reland (Palestin. l. i. p. 309. 390. l. iii. p. 838.) describes, with learning and perspicuity, Jerusalem, and the face of the adjacent coun-

(60) I have consulted a rare and curious treatise of M. d'Anville (sur l'ancienne Jerusalem, Paris, 1747. p. 75.). The circumference of the ancient city (Euseb. Præparat. Evangel. l. ix. c. 36.) was twenty-feven stadia, or 2550 toifes. A plan, taken on the spot, affigns no more than 1980 for the modern town. The circuit is defined by natural land-marks, which cannot be mistaken or removed.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ Et interea (during the civil war of Magnentius) Judzorum feditio, qui Patricium nefarie in regni speciem sustulerunt, oppressa. Aurelius Victor, in Constantio, c. xlii. See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 379, in 4to.

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fummit of Mount Acra; and a part of the hill, diffinguished by the name of Moriah, and levelled by human industry, was crowned with the stately temple of the Jewish nation. After the final destruction of the temple, by the arms of Titus and Hadrian, a ploughshare was drawn over the consecrated ground, as a sign of perpetual interdiction. Sion was deferted: and the vacant space of the lower city was filled with the public and private edifices of the Ælian colony, which spread themselves over the adjacent hill of Calvary. The holy places were polluted with monuments of idolatry; and, either from defign or accident, a chapel was dedicated to Venus, on the spot which had been sanctified by the death and refurrection of Christ (60). most three hundred years after those stupendous events, the profane chapel of Venus was demolished by the order of Constantine; and the removal of the earth and stones revealed the holy sepulchre to the eyes of mankind. A magnificent church was erected on that mystic ground, by the first Christian emperor; and the effects of his pious munificence were extended to every spot, which had been consecrated by the footsteps of patriarchs, of prophets, and of the Son of God (61).

The passionate desire of contemplating the pilgrimages. original monuments of their redemption, attracted to Jerusalem a successive crowd of pilgrims,

from

(61) See two curious passages in Jerom. (tom. i. p. 102. tom. vi. p. 315.), and the ample details of Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. i. p. 569. tom. ii. p. 289. 294. 4to edition).

⁽⁶¹⁾ Eusebius, in Vit. Constantin. l. iii. c. 25—47. 51—53. The emperor likewise built churches at Bethlem, the mount of Olives, and the oak of Mambre. The holy sepulchre is described by Sandys (Travels, p. 125—133.), and curiously delineated by Le Bruyn (Voyage au Levant, p. 288—296.).

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from the shores of the Atlantic ocean, and the most distant countries of the East (62); and their piety was authorised by the example of the empress Helena; who appears to have united the credulity of age with the warm feelings of a recent conversion. Sages and heroes, who have visited the memorable scenes of ancient wisdom or glory, have confessed the inspiration of the genius of the place (63); and the Christian, who knelt before the holy sepulchre, ascribed his lively faith, and his fervent devotion, to the more immediate influence of the Divine spirit. The zeal, perhaps the avarice, of the clergy of Jerusalem, cherished and multiplied these beneficial visits. They fixed, by unquestionable tradition, the scene of each memorable event. They exhibited the instruments which had been used in the passion of Christ; the nails and the lance that had pierced his hands, his feet, and his fide; the crown of thorns that was planted on his head; the pillar at which he was fcourged: and, above all they shewed the cross on which he suffered, and which was dug out of the earth in the reign of those princes, who inserted the fymbol of Christianity in the banners of the Roman legions (64). Such miracles, as feemed neceffary

⁽⁶²⁾ The Itinerary from Bourdeaux to Jerusalem, was composed in the year 333, for the use of pilgrims; among whom Jerom. (tom. i. p. 126.) mentions the Britons and the Indians. The causes of this superstitious safetiment are discussed in the learned and judicious presace of Wesseling (Itinerar. p. 537—545.)

⁽⁶³⁾ Cicero (de Finibus, v. 1.) has beautifully expressed the common sense of mankind.

⁽⁶⁴⁾ Baronius, (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 326. No. 42—50.) and Tillemont (Mem. Eccles. tom. vii. p. 8—16. are the historians and champions of the miraculous invention of the cross, under the reign of Constanting Their oldest witnesses are Paulinus, Sulpicius Severus, Rusinus, Ambrose,

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necessary to account for its extraordinary preferation, and feafonable discovery, were gradualv propagated without opposition. The custody of the true cross, which on Easter Sunday was olemnly exposed to the people, was entrusted o the bishop of Jerusalem; and he alone might ratify the curious devotion of the pilgrims, by he gift of small pieces, which they enchased n gold or gems, and carried away in triumph o their respective countries. But as this gainul branch of commerce must soon have been annihilated, it was found convenient to suppose, that the marvellous wood possessed a secret power of vegetation; and that its substance, though continually diminished, still remained entire and unimpaired (65). It might perhaps have been expected, that the influence of the place, and the belief of a perpetual miracle, should have produced some salutary effects on the morals, as well as on the faith, of the people. Yet the most respectable of the ecclesiastical writers have been obliged to confess, not only that the freets of Jerulalem were filled with the incelant tumult of business and pleasure (66), but that every species of vice; adultery, theft, idoatry, poisoning, murder, was familiar to the inhabitants

and perhaps Cyril of Jerusalem. The silence of Eusebius, and the Bourleaux pilgrim, which satisfies those who think, perplexes those who beleve. See Jortin's sensible remarks, vol. ii. p. 238-248.

(65) This multiplication is afferted by Paulinus, (epift. xxxvi. See Dupin, Bibliot. Eccles. tom. iii. p. 149.), who seems to have improved a rhetorical flourish of Cyril into a real fact. The same supernatural privilege must have been communicated to the Virgin's milk (Erasmi Opera, som. i. p. 778. Lugd. Batav. 1703. in Colloq. de Peregrinat. Religionis 1790), saints heads, &c. and other relics, which are repeated in so many different churches.

(66) Jerom (tom. 1. p. 103), who refided in the neighbouring village of Bethlem, despribes the vices of Jerusalem from his personal experience.

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inhabitants of the holy city (67). The wealth and pre-eminence of the church of Jerusalem excited the ambition of Arian as well as orthodox candidates; and the virtues of Cyril, who, fince his death, has been honoured with the title of Saint, were displayed in the exercise, rather than in the acquilition, of his episcopal dignity (68).

Julian atbuild the temple-

The vain and ambitious mind of Julian might temptstore-aspire to restore the ancient glory of the temple of Jerusalem (69). As the Christians were firmly persuaded that a sentence of everlasting destruction had been pronounced against the whole fabric of the Mosaic law, the Imperial sophist would have converted the success of his undertaking into a specious argument against the faith of prophecy, and the truth of revelation (70). He was displeased with the spiritual worship of the synagogue; but he approved the infti-

> (67) Greg. Nyssen, and Wesseling, p. 539. The whole epistle, which condemns either the use or the abuse of religious pilgrimage, is painful to the Catholic divines; while it is dear and familiar to our Protestant pole-

> (68) He renounced his orthodox ordination, officiated as a deacon, and was re-ordained by the hands of the Arians. But Cyril afterwards changed with the times, and prudently conformed to the Nicene faith. Tillemont (Mem. Eccles. tom. viii.), who treats his memory with tendernest and respect, has thrown his virtues into the text, and his faults into the notes, in decent obscurity, at the end of the volume.

> (69) Imperii sui memoriam magnitudine operum gestiens propagate Ammian. xxiii. 1. The temple of Jerusalem had been samous even among the Gentiles. They had many temples in each city (at Sichem five, at Gaza eight, at Rome four hundred and twenty-four); but the wealth and religion of the Jewish nation was centered in one spot.

> (70) The secret intentions of Julian are revealed by the late bishop of Gloucester, the learned and dogmatic Warburton; who, with the authority of a theologian, prescribes the motives and conduct of the Supreme Being. The discourse entitled Julian (2d edition, London, 1751), ii strongly marked with all the peculiarities which are imputed to the Warburtonian school.

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institutions of Moses, who had not disdained to adopt many of the rites and ceremonies of Egypt (71). The local and national deity of the Tews was fincerely adored by a polytheist, who defired only to multiply the number of the gods (72); and fuch was the appetite of Julian for bloody facrifice, that his emulation might be excited by the piety of Solomon, who had offered, at the feast of the dedication, twenty-two thousand oxen, and one hundred and twenty housand sheep (73). These considerations might influence his defigns; but the prospect of an immediate and important advantage, would not fuffer the impatient monarch to expect the remote and uncertain event of the Persian war. He resolved to erect, without delay, on the commanding eminence of Moriah, a stately temple which might eclipse the splendor of the church of the Resurrection on the adjacent hill of Calvary; to establish an order of priests, whose interested zeal would detect the arts, and resist the ambition, of their Christian rivals; and to invite a numerous colony of Jews, whose stern anaticism would be always prepared to second, and even to anticipate, the hostile measures of

(71) I shelter myself behind Maimonides, Marsham, Spencer, Le Clerc, Warburton, &c. who have fairly derided the sears, the folly, and the falsehood, of some superstitious divines. See Divine Legation, vol. 17. p. 25, &c.

(72) Julian (Fragment, p. 295.) respectfully styles him μεγας θεος, and mentions him elsewhere (epist. lxiii.) with still higher reverence. He doubly condemns the Christians: for believing, and for renouncing, the religion of the Jews. Their Deity was a true, but not the only, God. Apud Cyril. l. ix. p. 305, 306.

(73) I Kings viii. 63. 2 Chronicles vii. 5. Joseph. Antiquitat. Judaic. I viii. c. 4. p. 431. edit. Havercamp. As the blood and smoke of so many hecatombs might be inconvenient, Lightsoot, the Christian rabbi, removes them by a miracle. Le Clerc (ad loca) is bold enough to suspect the sidelity of the numbers.

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the pagan government. Among the friends of the emperor (if the names of emperor, and of friend, are not incompatible) the first place was affigned, by Julian himself, to the virtuous and learned Alypius (74). The humanity of Alypius was tempered by severe justice, and manly for titude; and while he exercised his abilities in the civil administration of Britain, he imitated in his poetical compositions, the harmony and foftness of the odes of Sappho. This minister, to whom Julian communicated, without referve his most careless levities, and his most serious counfels, received an extraordinary commission to restore; in its pristine beauty, the temple of Jerusalem; and the diligence of Alypius required and obtained the strenuous support of the governor of Palestine. At the call of their great deliverer, the Jews, from all the provinces of the empire, affembled on the holy mountain of their fathers; and their infolent triumph alarmed and exasperated the Christian inhabitants of Jerusa lem. The defire of rebuilding the temple has in every age, been the ruling passion of the children of Israel. In this propitious moment the men forgot their avarice, and the women their delicacy; spades and pickaxes of filver were provided by the vanity of the rich, and the rub bish was transported in mantles of filk and pur ple. Every purse was opened in liberal contri butions, every hand claimed a share in the pious labour; and the commands of a great monarch were executed by the enthuliasm of whole people (75). Yet

(74) Julian, epist. xxix. xxx. La Bleterie has neglected to transa, the second of these epistles.

⁽⁷⁵⁾ See the zeal and impatience of the Jews in Gregory Nazianio (Orat, iv. p. 111.) and Theodoret (l. iii. c. 20.).

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Yet, on this occasion, the joint efforts of The enterpower and enthuliasm were unsuccessful; and feated, the ground of the Jewish temple, which is now covered by a Mahometan mosque (76), still continued to exhibit the same edifying spectacle of ruin and defolation. Perhaps the absence and death of the emperor, and the new maxims of a Christian reign, might explain the interruption of an arduous work, which was attempted only in the last fix months of the life of Julian (77). But the Christians entertained a natural and pious expectation, that, in this memorable contest, the honour of religion would be vindicated by fome fignal miracle. An earthquake, a whirlwind, and a fiery eruption, which overturned and scattered the new foundations of the temple, are attefted, with fome variations, by contemporary and respectable evidence (78). This public event is described by Ambrose (79), bishop of Milan, in an epistle to the emperor Theodofius, which must provoke the severe animadversion of the Jews; by the eloquent Chrys-

(76) Built by Omar, the second Khalif, who died A. D. 644. This great mosque covers the whole consecrated ground of the Jewish temple, and constitutes almost a square of 760 toises, or one Roman mile in circumference. See d'Anville Jerusalem, p. 45.

(77) Ammianus records the consuls of the year 363, before he proceeds to mention the thoughts of Julian. Templum. . . instaurare sumptibus cogitabat immodicis. Warburton has a secret wish to anticipate the design; but he must have understood, from former examples, that execution of such a work would have demanded many years.

(78) The subsequent witnesses, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Philosorgius, &c. add contradictions, rather than authority. Compare the objections of Basnage (Hist. des Juis, tom. viii. p. 157—168) with Warburton's answers (Julian, p. 174—258.). The bishop has ingeniously explained the miraculous crosses which appeared on the garments of the spectators by a similar instance, and the natural effects of lightning.

(79) Ambrof. tom. ii. epift. xl. p. 946. edit. Benedictin. He composed this fanatic epiftle (A. D. 388.) to justify a bishop, who had been condemned by the civil magistrate for burning a synagogue.

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perhaps by a oftom (80), who might appeal to the memory of the elder part of his congregation at Antioch; and by Gregory Nazianzen (81), who published his account of the miracle before the expiration of the same year. The last of these writers has boldly declared, that this præternatural event was not disputed by the infidels; and his affertion, strange as it may seem, is confirmed by the unexceptionable testimony of Ammianus Marcellinus (82). The philosophic foldier, who loved the virtues, without adopting the prejudices, of his mafter, has recorded, in his judicious and candid history of his own times, the extraordinary obstacles which interrupted the restoration of the temple of Jurusalem. "Whilst " Alypius, affifted by the governor of the pro-" vince, urged, with vigour and diligence, the " execution of the work, horrible balls of fire " breaking out near the foundations, with fre-" quent and reiterated attacks, rendered the place, from time to time, inaccessible to the fcorched and blafted workmen; and the vic-" torious element continuing in this manner ob-" stinately and resolutely bent, as it were, to

> (80) Chrysostom, tom. i. p. 580. advers. Judæos et Gentes, tom. ii. p. 574. de Sto. Babyla, edit. Montfaucon. I have followed the common and natural supposition; but the learned Benedictine. who dates the compolition of these sermons in the year 383, is consident they were never pronounced from the pulpit.

> (81) Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iv. p. 100-113. Το δε צν περιβοητοι πασι θαυμα, και εδε τοις αθεοις απισουμενον λεξων ερχομαι.

> (89) Ammian, xxiii. i. Cum itaque rei fortiter instaret Alypius, juvaretque provinciæ rector, metuendi globi flammarum prope fundamenta crebris affultibus erumpentes fecere locum exustis aliquoties operantibus inaccessum: hocque modo elemento destinatius repellente, cessavit inceptum. Warburton labours (p. 60-90.) to extort a confession of the miracle from the mouths of Julian and Libanius, and to employ the evidence of a rabbi, who lived in the fifteenth century. Such witnesses can only be received by a very favourable judge.

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"drive them to a distance, the undertaking was "abandoned." Such authority should satisfy a believing, and must astonish an incredulous, mind. Yet a philosopher may still require the original evidence of impartial and intelligent spectators. At this important crisis, any singular accident of nature would assume the appearance, and produce the effects, of a real prodigy. This glorious deliverance would be speedily improved and magnified by the pious art of the clergy of Jerusalem, and the active credulity of the Christian world; and, at the distance of twenty years, a Roman historian, careless of theological disputes, might adorn his work with the specious and splendid miracle (83).

The restoration of the Jewish temple was se-Partiality of cretly connected with the ruin of the Christian Julians Julian still continued to maintain the freedom of religious worship, without distinguishing, whether this universal toleration proceeded from his justice, or his clemency. He affected to pity the unhappy Christians, who were mistaken in the most important object of their lives; but his pity was degraded by contempt, his contempt was embittered by hatred; and the fentiments of Julian were expressed in a style of farcastic wit, which inslicts a deep and deadly wound, whenever it issues from the mouth of a sovereign. As he was sensible that the Christians gloried in the name of their Redeemer, he countenanced, and perhaps enjoined, the use of the less honourable appellation of GALLI-

LÆANS

⁽⁸³⁾ Dr. Lardner, perhaps alone of the Christian critics, presumes to doubt the truth of this samous miracle (Jewish and Heathen Testimonies, vol. iv. p. 47—71.). The silence of Jerom would lead to a suspicion, that the same story, which was celebrated at a distance, might be despited on the spot.

LEANS (84). He declared, that, by the folly of the Gallilæans, whom he describes as a sect of fanatics, contemptible to men, and odious to the gods, the empire had been reduced to the brink of destruction; and he infinuates in a public edict, that a frantic patient might fometimes be cured by falutary violence (85). An ungenerous distinction was admitted into the mind and counsels of Julian, that, according to the difference of their religious fentiments, one part of his subjects deserved his favour and friendship, while the other was entitled only to the common benefits, that his justice could not refuse to an obedient people (86). According to a principle, pregnant with mischief and oppression, the emperor transferred, to the pontiffs of his own religion, the management of the liberal allowances from the public revenue, which had been granted to the church by the piety of Constantine and his fons. The proud system of clerical honours and immunities, which had been constructed with so much art and labour, was levelled to the ground; the hopes of testamentary donations

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⁽⁸⁴⁾ Greg. Naz. Orat. iii. p. 81. And this law was confirmed by the invariable practice of Julian himself. Warburton has juttly observed (p. 35.), that the Platonists believed in the mytherious virtue of words; and Julian's dislike for the name of Christ might proceed from superstition, as well as from contempt.

⁽⁸⁵⁾ Fragment. Julian. p. 288. He derides the μορία Γαλιλαίδι (epist. vii.), and so far loses fight of the principles of toleration, as to wish (epist. xlii.) αποντας ιασθαι.

Aνδοας, οι κε θαοισιν απεχθωντ' εθαναθοισιν.

These two lines, which Julian has changed and perverted in the true spirit of a bigot (epist. xlix.) are taken from the speech of Æolus, when he refuses to grant Ulysses a fresh supply of winds (Odyss. x. 73.). Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 59. p. 286.) attempts to justify this partial behaviour, by an apology, in which persecution peeps through the mask of candour.

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donations were intercepted by the rigour of the laws; and the priefts of the Christan sect were confounded with the last and most ignominious class of the people. Such of these regulations as appeared necessary to check the ambition and avarice of the ecclefiaftics, were foon afterwards imitated by the wisdom of an orthodox prince. The peculiar distinctions which policy has bestowed, or superstition has lavished, on the sacerdotal order, must be confined to those priests who profess the religion of the state. But the will of the legislator was not exempt from prejudice and passion; and it was the object of the infidious policy of Julian, to deprive the Chriftians of all the temporal honours and advantages which rendered them respectable in the eyes of the world (87).

A just and severe censure has been inflicted on He prohibits the law which prohibited the Christians from the Christians from ans from teaching the arts of grammar and rhetoric (88). teaching The motives alleged by the emperor to justify schools. this partial and oppressive measure, might command, during his life-time, the filence of flaves and the applause of flatterers. Julian abuses the ambiguous meaning of a word which might be indifferently applied to the language and the religion of the GREEKS: he contemptuously obierves, that the men who exalt the merit of implicit faith are unfit to claim or to enjoy the advantages of science; and he vainly contends, that if they refuse to adore the gods of Homer H 2 and

(87) These laws which affected the clergy, may be found in the slight hints of Julian himself (Epist. iii.), in the vague declamations of Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 86, 87.) and in the positive affertions of Sozomen (l. v. c. 5.).

(88) Inclemens . . . peresni obruendum filentio. Ammian. xxii, 10; xxv. 5.

and Demosthenes, they ought to content themfelves with expounding Luke and Matthew in the churches of the Galliaans (89). In all the cities of the Roman world, the education of the youth was entrusted to the masters of grammar and rhetoric; who were elected by the magiftrates, maintained at the public expence, and diftinguished by the many lucrative and honourable privileges. The edict of Julian appears to have included the physicians, and profesfors of all the liberal arts; and the emperor, who referved to himself the approbation of the candidates, was authorised by the laws to corrupt, or to punish, the religious constancy of the most learned of the Christians (90). As soon as the refignation of the more obstinate (91) teachers had established the unrivalled dominion of the Pagan sophists, Julian invited the rising generation to refort with freedom to the public schools, in a just confidence, that their tender minds would receive the impressions of literature and idolatry. If the greatest part of the Christian youth should be deterred by their own scruples, or by those of their parents, from accepting this dangerous

(90) Codex. Theodos. l. xiii. tit. iii. de medicis et prosessoribus, leg. 5. (published the 17th of June, received, at Spoleto in Italy, the 29th of July, A. D. 363.) with Godfroy's Illustrations, tom. v. p. 31.

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⁽⁸⁹⁾ The edict itself, which is still extant among the epistles of Julian (xlii.), may be compared with the loose invectives of Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 96.). Tillemont (Mem. Eccles. tom. vii. p. 1291—1294.) has collected the seeming differences of ancients and moderns. They may be easily reconciled. The Christians were directly forbid to teach, they were indirectly forbid to learn; since they would not frequent the schools of the Pagans.

⁽⁹¹⁾ Orosius celebrates their disinterested resolution, Sicut a majoribut nostris compertum habemus, omnes ubique propemodum . . . officium quam sidem deserrer maluerunt, vii. 30. Proæresius, a Christian sophist, refused to accept the partial savour of the emperor. Hieronym. in Chron. p. 185. Edit. Scaliger. Eunapsus in Proæresio, p. 126.

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dangerous mode of instruction, they must, at the same time, relinquish the benefits of a liberal education. Julian had reason to expect that, in the space of a sew years, the church would relapse into its primæval simplicity, and that the theologians, who possessed an adequate share of the learning and eloquence of the age, would be succeeded by a generation of blind and ignorant fanatics, incapable of defending the truth of their own principles, or of exposing the various follies of Polytheism (92).

It was undoubtedly the wish and the design Digrace and of Julian to deprive the Christians of the ad-oppression of the Christians

vantages of wealth, of knowledge, and of pow-ans. er; but the injustice of excluding them from all offices of trust and profit, seems to have been the result of his general policy, rather than the immediate consequence of any positive law (93.) Superior merit might deserve, and obtain, some extraordinary exceptions; but the greater part of the Christian officers were gradually removed from their employments in the state, the army, and the provinces. The hopes of future candidates were extinguished by the declared partiality of a prince, who maliciously reminded them, that it was unlawful for a Christian to use the fword, either, of justice, or of war: and who studiously guarded the camp and the tribunals with

(92) They had recourse to the expedient of composing books for their own schools. Within a few months Apollinaris produced his Christian imitations of Homer (a sacred history in xxiv books), Pindar, Euripides, and Menander; and Sozomen is satisfied, that they equalled, or excelled, the originals.

(93) It was the instruction of Julian to his magistrates (Epist. vii.)
προτιμασθαι μεν τοι τες θεοσεβεις και πανυ Φημι δειν. Sozomen
(l. v. c. 12.) and Socrates (l. iii. c. 13.) must be reduced to the standard of Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 95.), not less prone to exaggeration, but more restrained by the actual knowledge of his cotemporary readers.

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with the enfigns of idolatry. The powers of government were entrufted to the Pagans, who professed an ardent zeal for the religion of their ancestors; and as the choice of the emperor was often directed by the rules of divination, the favourites whom he preferred as the most agreeable to the gods, did not always obtain the approbation of mankind (94). Under the administration of their enemies, the Christians had much to fuffer, and more to apprehend. The temper of Julian was averse to cruelty; and the care of his reputation, which was exposed to the eyes of the universe, restrained the philosophic monarch from violating the laws of justice and toleration, which he himself had so recently established. But the provincial ministers of his authority, were placed in a less conspicuous station. In the exercise of arbitrary power, they consulted the wishes, rather than the commands of their fovereign; and ventured to exercise a secret and vexatious tyranny against the sectaries, on whom they were not permitted to confer the honours of martyrdom. The emperor, who diffembled, as long as possible, his knowledge of the injustice that was exercised in his name, expressed his real fense of the conduct of his officers, by gentle reproofs and substantial rewards (95).

They are

The most effectual instrument of oppression, condemned with which they were armed, was the law that Pagan tem- obliged the Christians to make full and ample fatisfaction for the temples which they had destroyed under the preceding reign. The zeal of

> (94) Inow dewy nat didus not jun didus. Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 88. p. 314.

⁽⁹⁵⁾ Greg. Naz. Orat. iii. p. 74. 91, 92. Socrates, l. iii. c. 14. Theodoret, I. iii. c. 6. Some drawback may however be allowed for the viclence of their zeal, not less partial than the zeal of Julian.

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the triumphant church had not always expected the fanction of the public authority; and the bishops, who were secure of impunity, had often marched, at the head of their congregations, to attack and demolish the fortresses of the prince of darkness. The confecrated lands, which had encreased the patrimony of the sovereign of the clergy, were clearly defined, and easily restored. But on these lands, and on the ruins of Pagan fuperstition, the Christians had frequently erected their own religious edifices; and as it was neceffary to remove the church before the temple could be rebuilt, the justice and piety of the emperor were applauded by one party, while the other deplored and execrated his facrilegious violence (96). After the ground was cleared, the restitution of those stately structures, which had been levelled with the dust; and of the precious ornaments, which had been converted to Christian uses; swelled into a very large account The authors of the inof damages and debt. jury had neither the ability nor the inclination to discharge this accumulated demand; and the impartial wisdom of a legislator would have been displayed in balancing the adverse claims and complaints, by an equitable and temperate arbitration. But the whole empire, and particularly the East, was thrown into confusion by the rash edicts of Julian; and the Pagan magistrates, inflamed by zeal and revenge, abused the rigorous privilege of the Roman law; which substitutes, in the place of his inadequate property, the per-

⁽⁹⁶⁾ If we compare the gentle language of Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 60. p. 286.) with the paffionate exclamations of Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 86, 87), we may find it difficult to persuade ourselves, that the two orators are really describing the same events.

fon of the infolvent debtor. Under the preceding reign, Mark, bishop of Arethusa (97), had laboured in the conversion of his people with arms more effectual than those of persuasion (98). The magistrates required the full value of a temple which had been destroyed by his intolerant zeal: but as they were fatisfied of his poverty, they defired only to bend his inflexible spirit to the promise of the slightest compensation. They apprehended the aged prelate, they inhumanly scourged him, they tore his beard; and his naked body, anointed with honey, was suspended in a net, between heaven and earth, and exposed to the stings of infects and the rays of a Syrian fun (99.) From this lofty station, Mark still perfifted to glory in his crime, and to infult the impotent rage of his perfecutors. He was at length rescued from their hands, and dismissed to enjoy the honour of his divine triumph. Arians celebrated the virtue of their pious confessor; the catholics ambitiously claimed his alli-

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⁽⁹⁷⁾ Restan or Arethusa, at the equal distance of fixteen miles between Emesa (Hems), and Epiphania (Hamath), was founded, or at least named, by Seleucus Nicator. Its peculiar ara dates from the year of Rome 685; according to the medals of the city. In the decline of the Seleucides, Emesa and Arethusa were usurped by the Arab Sampsiceramus, whose posterity, the vassals of Rome, were not extinguished in the reign of Vespassan. See d'Anville's Maps and Geographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 134. Wesseling. Itineraria, p. 188, and Noris. Epoch. Syro Macedon. p. 80. 481, 482.

⁽⁹⁸⁾ Sozomen, I. v. c. 10. It is furprising, that Gregory and Theodoret should suppress a circumstance, which, in their eyes, must have enhanced the religious merit of the confessor.

⁽⁹⁹⁾ The sufferings and constancy of Mark, which Gregory has so tragically painted (Qrat. iii, p. 88—91.), are confirmed by the unexceptionable and reluctant evidence of Libanius. Μαςκος εκεινος κρεμαμενος, και μασιγεμενος, και τε πωγωνος αυτώ τιλλομενε, παντα ενεγκων ανδοείως νυν Ισοθεος εςι ταις τιμαις, καν φανη τε, περιμαγώτος ευθυς. Ερίst. 730. p. 350, 351. Edit, Wolf. Amstel. 1738.

ance (100); and the Pagans, who might be fufceptible of shame or remorse, were deterred from the repetition of fuch unavailing cruelty (101). Julian spared his life: but if the bishop of Arethusa had saved the infancy of Julian (102), posterity will condemn the ingratitue, instead of praising the clemency, of the emperor.

At the distance of five miles from Antioch, The temple the Macedonian kings of Syria had confecrated and facred to Apollo one of the most elegant places of de-Daphne. votion in the Pagan world (103.) A magnificent temple rose in honour of the god of light; and his Colossal figure (104) almost filled the capacious fanctuary, which was enriched with gold and gems, and adorned by the skill of the Gre-The deity was represented in a cian artists. bending

(100) Перимахито certatim eum sibi (Christiani) vindicant. It is thus that La Croze and Wolfius (ad loc.) have explained a Greek word, whose true signification had been mistaken by former interpreters, and even by le Clerc [Bibliotheque Ancienne et Moderne, tom. iii. p. 371.). Yet Tillemont is strangely puzzled to understand (Mem. Eccles. tom. vii, p. 1309.) how Gregory and Theodoret could mistake a Semi-Arian bishop for a saint.

(101) See the probable advice of Sallust (Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iii. 90, 91.). Libanius intercedes for a similar offender, lest they should find many Marks; yet he allows, that if Orion had fecreted the confecrated wealth, he deserved to suffer the punishment of Marsyas; to be flayed

alive (Epist. 730. p. 349 -351.).

(102) Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 90.) is satisfied, that by saving the apos-

late, Mark had deferved still more than he had suffered.

(103) The grove and temple of Daphne are described by Strabo (1. xvi. P. 1089, 1090. edit. Amstel. 1707.). Libanius (Nænia, p. 185-188. Antiochic. Orat. xi. p. 380, 381.), and Sozomen (l. v. c. 19.). Wesseling Itinerar. p. 581.), and Casaubon (ad Hist. August. p. 64.) illustrate this curious subject.

(104) Simulacrum in eo Olympiaci Jovis imitamenti zquiparans mag-Bitudinem. Ammian. xxii. 13. The Olympic Jupiter was fixty feet high, and his bulk was consequently equal to that of a thousand Men. See a curious Memoire of the Abbé Gedoyn (Academie des Inscriptions, tom-

P. 198).

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bending attitude, with a golden cup in his hand. pouring out a libation on the earth; as if he supplicated the venerable mother to give to his arms the cold and beauteous DAPHNE: for the spot was ennobled by fiction; and the fancy of the Syrian poets had transported the amorous tale from the banks of the Peneus to those of the The ancient rites of Greece were imi-Orontes. tated by the royal colony of Antioch. A stream of prophecy, which rivalled the truth and reputation of the Delphic oracle, flowed from the Castalian fountain of Daphne (105). In the adjacent fields a stadium was built by a special privilege (106), which had been purchased from Elis; the Olympic games were celebrated at the expence of the city; and a revenue of thirty thousand pounds sterling was annually applied to the public pleasures (107). The perpetual resort of pilgrims and spectators insensibly formed, in the neighbourhood of the temple, the stately and populous village of Daphne, which emulated the splendor, without acquiring the title, of a provincial city. The temple and the village were deeply bosomed in a thick grove of laurels and cyprefles,

(105) Hadrian read the history of his future fortunes on a leaf dipped in the Castalian stream; a trick, which, according to the physician Vandale (de Oraculis, p. 281, 282.), might be easily performed by chymical preparations. The emperor stopped the source of such dangerous knowledge; which was again opened by the devout curiosity of Julian.

(106) It was purchased, A. D. 44, in the year 92 of the cera of Antioch (Noris. Epoch. Syro-Maced. p. 139—174.) for the term of ninety Olympiads. But the Olympic games of Antioch were not regularly celebrated till the reign of Commodus. See the curious details in the Chronicle of John Malata (tom. p. 290. 320. 372—381.), a writer whose merit and authority are confined within the limits of his native city.

(107) Fifteen talents of gold, bequeathed by Solibius, who died in the reign of Augustus. The theatrical merits of the Syrian cities, in the age of Constantine, are compared in the Expositio totius Mundi, p. 6. (Hudisan, Geograph. Minor, tom. iii.)

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expresses, which reached as far as a circumference of ten miles, and formed in the most sultry summers a cool and impenetrable shade. A thouand streams of the purest water, issuing from every hill, preferved the verdure of the earth. and the temperature of the air; the fenses were gratified with harmonious founds and aromatic edours; and the peaceful grove was confecrated to health and joy, to luxury and love. gorous youth purfued, like Apollo, the object of his defires; and the blushing maid was warned, by the fate of Daphne, to shun the folly of unseasonable coyness. The soldier and the phibiopher wifely avoided the temptation of this fenfual paradife (108); where pleafure, affuming the character of religion, imperceptibly diffolved the firmness of manly virtue. But the groves of Daphne continued for many ages to enjoy the reneration of natives and strangers; the privileges of the holy ground were enlarged by the munificence of fucceeding emperors; and every generation added new ornaments to the splendor of the temple (109).

When Julian, on the day of the annual festi-Neglect and val, hastened to adore the Apollo of Daphne, profanation his devotion was raised to the highest pitch of Daphne tagerness and impatience. His lively imagination anticipated the grateful pomp of victims, of libations, and of incense; a long procession of youths and virgins, clothed in white robes, the lymbol of their innocence; and the tumultuous concourse

¹⁰⁸⁾ Avidio Cassio Syriacos legiones dedi luxuria distinentes et Daphmoribus. These are the words of the emperor Marcus Antoninus in original letter preserved by his biographer in Hist. August. p. 41. Casdismissed or punished every soldier who was seen at Daphne.

⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ Aliquantum agrorum Daphnensibus dedit (Pompey), quo lucus spatiosior sieret; delectatus amœnitate loci et aquarum abundantia. Ilropius, vi. 14. Sextus Rusus, de Provinciis, c. 16.

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concourse of an innumerable people. But the zeal of Antioch was diverted, fince the reign of Christianity, into a different channel. Instead of hetacombs of fat oxen facrificed by the tribes of a wealthy city, to their tutelar deity, the emperor complains that he found only a fingle goose, provided at the expence of a priest, the pale and folitary inhabitant of this decayed temple (110). The altar was deferted, the oracle had been reduced to filence, and the holy ground was profaned by the introduction of Christian and funeral rites. After Babylas (111) (a bishop of Antioch, who died in prison in the persecution of Decius) had refted near a century in his grave, his body, by the order of the Cala Gallus, was transported into the midst of the grove of Daphne. A magnificent church was erected over his remains; a portion of the faced lands was usurped for the maintenance of the clergy, and for the burial of the Christians Antioch, who were ambitious of lying at the feet of their bishop; and the priests of Apoll retired, with their affrighted and indignant w taries. As foon as another revolution feemed restore the fortune of Paganism, the church St. Babylas was demolished, and new building were added to the mouldering edifice which had been raised by the piety of Syrian kings. But the first and most serious care of Julian was to delive

(110) Julian (Misopogon, p. 361, 362.) discovers his own characte with that naiveté, that unconscious simplicity, which always constitute genuine humour.

⁽¹¹¹⁾ Babylas is named by Eusebius in the succession of the bishopse Antioch (Hist. Eccles. 1. vi. c. 29. 39). His triumph over two emperor (the first fabulous, the second historical) is diffusely celebrated by Chip fostom (tom. ii. p. 536—579. edit. Montfaucon.). Tillemont (Man Eccles. tom. iii. part ii. p. 287—302. 459—465.) becomes almost seeptie.

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deliver his oppressed deity from the odious prefence of the dead and living Christians, who had so effectually suppressed the voice of fraud or enthusiasm (112). The scene of infection Removal of was purified, according to the forms of ancient the dead boituals; the bodies were decently removed; and flagration of the ministers of the church were permitted to the temple. convey the remains of St. Babylas to their former habitation within the walls of Antioch. nodest behaviour which might have assuaged the ealoufy of an hostile government, was neglected on this occasion by the zeal of the Christians. The lofty car that transported the relics of Babylas, was followed, and accompanied, and received, by an innumerable multitude; who chanted, with thundering acclamations, the Psalms of David the most expressive of their contempt for idols and idolators. The return of the faint was a triumph; and the triumph was an infult on the religion of the emperor, who exerted his pride to diffemble his refentment. During the night which terminated this indifcreet procession, the temple of Daphne was in flames; the statue of Apollo was consumed; and the walls of the edifice were left a naked and awful monument of ruin. The Christians of Antioch afferted, with religious confidence, that the powerful intercession of St. Babylas had pointed the ightnings of heaven against the devoted roof: but as Julian was reduced to the alternative, of believing either a crime or a miracle, he chose, without hesitation, without evidence, but with iome

⁽¹¹²⁾ Ecclesiastical critics, particularly those who love relics, exult in the confession of Julian (Misopogon, p. 361.) and Libanius (Nania, p. 185.), that Apollo was disturbed by the vicinity of one dead man. Yet Ammianus (xxii. 12.) clears and purifies the whole ground, according to the rites which the Athenians somerly practised in the isle of Delos.

Daphne to the revenge of the Gallilæans (113).

Their offence, had it been sufficiently proved, might have justified the retaliation, which was fulian shuts immediately executed by the order of Julian, of the cathedral shutting the doors, and confiscating the wealth, of the cathedral of Antioch. To discover the criminals who were guilty of the tumult, of the fire, or of secreting the riches of the church, several ecclesiastics were tortured (114); and a presbyter, of the name of Theodoret, was be-

headed by the sentence of the Count of the East

But this hafty act was blamed by the emperor:

who lamented, with real or affected concern

that the imprudent zeal of his ministers would tarnish his reign with the disgrace of perfecution (115).

The zeal of the ministers of Julian was instantly checked by the frown of their sovereign; but when the father of his country declares himfelf the leader of a faction, the licence of popular fury cannot easily be restrained, nor consitently punished. Julian, in a public composition, applauds the devotion and loyalty of the holy cities of Syria, whose pious inhabitants had

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(113) Julian (in Misopogon, p. 361.) rather infinuates, than affirm, their guilt. Ammianus (xxii. 13.) treats the imputation as levissimus mor, and relates the story with extraordinary candour.

(114) Quo tam atroci casu repente consumpto, ad id usque imperatori ira provexit, ut quæstiones agitare juberet solito acriores (yet Julian blams the lenity of the magistrates of Antioch), et majorem ecclesiam Antiochi claudi. This interdiction was performed with some circumstances of is dignity and profanation: and the seasonable death of the principal actor Julian's uncle, is related with much superstitious complacency by the Abbé de la Bleterie. Vie de Julien, p. 362—369,

(115) Besides the ecclesiastical historians, who are more or less to ke suspected, we may allege the passion of St. Theodore, in the Acta Sincer of Ruinart, p. 591. The complaint of Julian gives it an original as

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destroyed, at the first signal, the sepulchres of the Galilæans; and faintly complains, that they had revenged the injuries of the gods with less moderation than he should have recommend-This imperfect and reluctant confesed (116). fion may appear to confirm the ecclefiaftical narratives; that in the cities of Gaza, Ascalon, Cæsarea, Heliopolis, &c. the Pagans abused, without prudence or remorfe, the moment of their prosperity. That the unhappy objects of their cruelty were released from torture only by death; that as their mangled bodies were dragged through the streets they were pierced (such was the universal rage) by the spits of cooks, and the distaffs of enraged women; and that the entrails of Christian priests and virgins, after they had been tafted by those bloody fanatics, were mixed with barley, and contemptuoufly thrown to the unclean animals of the city (117). Such scenes of religious madness exhibit the most contemptible and odious picture of human nature; but the maffacre of Alexandria attracts fill more attention, from the certainty of the act, the rank of the victims, and the splendour of the capital of Egypt.

George (118,) from his parents or his educa-George of tion,

Cappadocia

(116) Julian. Misopogon, p. 361.

(117) See Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iii. p. 87.). Sozomen (l. v. c. 9.) hay be considered as an original, though not impartial, witness. He was native of Gaza, and had conversed with the confessor Zeno, who, as bishop of Maiuma, lived to the age of an hundred (l. vii. c. 28). Philosorgius (l. vii. c. 4. with Godfroy's Differtations, p. 284.) adds some trac circumstances, of Christians, who were literally sacrificed at the altars of the gods, &cc.

(118) The life and death of George of Cappadocia are described by Ammianus (xxii. 11.), Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. xxi. p. 382. 385. 389, 390.), and Epiphanius (Hæref. lxxvi.). The invectives of the two sints might not deserve much credit, unless they were confirmed by the

testimony of the cool and impartial infidel.

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tion, furnamed the Cappadocian, was born at Epiphania in Cilicia, in a fuller's shop. From this obscure and servile origin he raised himself by the talents of a paralite: and the patrons, whom he affiduously flattered, procured for their worthless dependent a lucrative commission, or contract, to supply the army with bacon. employment was mean: he rendered it infamous. He accumulated wealth by the basest arts of fraud and corruption; but his malversations were fo notorious, that George was compelled to escape from the pursuits of justice. After this difgrace, in which he appears to have faved his fortune at the expence of his honour, he embraced, with real or affected zeal, the profession of Arianism. From the love, or the oftentation, of learning, he collected a valuable library of history, rhetoric, philosophy, and theology (119); and the choice of the prevailing faction promoted George of Cappadocia to the throne of Athana-The entrance of the new archbishop was that of a Barbarian conqueror; and each moment of his reign was polluted by cruelty and The Catholics of Alexandria and avarice. Egypt were abandoned to a tyrant, qualified, by nature and education, to exercise the office of persecution; but he oppressed with an impartial hand the various inhabitants of his extensive di-The primate of Egypt assumed the pomp

oppresses
Alexandria
and Egypt.

(119) After the massacre of George, the emperor Julian repeatedly sent orders to preserve the library for his own use, and to torture the slaves who might be suspected of secreting any books. He praises the merit of the collection, from whence he had borrowed and transcribed several manuscripts while he pursued his studies in Cappadocia. He could wish indeed that the works of the Galilæans might perish; but he requires as exact account even of those theological volumes, lest other treatises more valuable should be consounded in their loss. Julian. Epist ix, xxxvi:

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pomp and insolence of his lofty station; but he still betrayed the vices of his base and servile ex-The merchants of Alexandria were impoverished by the unjust, and almost univerfal, monopoly, which he acquired, of nitre, falt, paper, funerals, &c.: and the spiritual father of a great people condescended to practice the vile and pernicious arts of an informer. The Alexandrians could never forget, nor forgive, the tax, which he fuggested, on all the houses of the city; under an obsolete claim, that the royal founder had conveyed to his fuccessors, the Ptolemies and the Cæsars, the perpetual property of the foil. The Pagans, who had been flattered with the hopes of freedom and toleration, excited his devout avarice; and the rich temples of Alexandria were either pillaged or insulted by the haughty prelate, who exclaimed, in a loud and threatening tone, " How long will these sepulchres be permitted to stand?" Under the reign of Constantius, he was expelled by the fury, or rather by the justice, of the people; and it was not without a violent struggle, that the civil and military powers of the state could restore his authority, and gratify his revenge. The messenger who proclaimed at Alexandria the accession of Julian, announced the downfal of the archbishop. George, with two of his A.D. 361, obsequious ministers, count Diodorus, and Dra-November contius, master of the mint, were ignominiously 50. dragged in chains to the public prison. At the He is masend of twenty-four days, the prison was forced facred by the open by the rage of a superstitious multitude, people, impatient of the tedious forms of judicial pro-December ceedings. The enemies of gods and men ex-24. pired under their cruel infults; the lifeless bodies of the archbishop and his affociates were carried Vel. IV.

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in triumph through the streets on the back of a camel; and the inactivity of the Athanasian party (120) was esteemed a shining example of evangelical patience. The remains of these guilty wretches were thrown into the fea; and the popular leaders of the tumult declared their refolution to disappoint the devotion of the Christians, and to intercept the future honours of these martyrs, who had been punished, like their predeceffors, by the enemies of their religion (121). The fears of the Pagans were just, and their precautions ineffectual. The meritorious death of the archbishop obliterated the memory of his life. The rival of Athanasius was dear and sacred to the Arians, and the feeming conversion of those fectaries introduced his worship into the bosom of the Catholic church (122). The odious stranger, difguifing every circumstance of time and place,

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and worthip-affumed the mask of a martyr, a faint, and a ped as a faint Christian hero (123); and the infamous George

> (120) Philostorgius, with cautious malice, infinuates their guilt, και τη Αθανασία γνομην ερατηγνοαι της πραξέως, 1. vii. c. 1. Godefroy, p. 267.

> (121) Cineres projecit in mare, id metuens ut clamabat, ne, collectis supremis, ædes illis exstruerent; ut reliquis, qui deviare a religione compulfi, pertulere cruciabiles pænas, adulque gloriosam mortem intemerala fide progressi, et nunc MARTYRES appellantur. Ammian. xxii, II. Epiphanius proves to the Arians, that George was not a martyr.

> (122) Some Donatists (Optatus Milev. p. 60. 303. edit. Dupin; and Tillemont, Mem. Eccles. tom. vi. p. 713. in 4to) and Priscillianit. (Tillemont, Mem. Eccles, tom. viii, p. 517. in 4to) have in like manner usurped the honours of Catholic faints and martyrs.

> (123) The faints of Cappadocia, Basil and the Gregories, were ignorant of their holy companion. Pope Gelasius (A. D. 494.), the find Catholic who acknowledges St. George, places him among the martyrs, qui Deo magis quam hominibus noti funt." He rejects his Acts as the composition of heretics. Some, perhaps not the oldest, of the spurious Acts, are still extant; and, through a cloud of siction, we may yet dillinguish the combat which St. George of Cappadocia sustained, in the presence of Queen Alexandra, against the magician Athanasius.

of Cappadocia has been transformed (124) into the renowned St. George of England, the patron of arms, of chivalry, and of the garter (125).

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About the same time that Julian was informed of the tumult of Alexandria, he received intelligence from Edella, that the proud and wealthy faction of the Arians had infulted the weakness of the Valentians; and committed fuch diforders, as ought not to be fuffered with impunity in a well-regulated state. Without expecting the flow forms of justice, the exasperated prince directed his mandate to the magistrates of Edes-(127), by which he confiscated the whole property of the church: the money was distributed among the foldiers; the lands were added to the domain; and this act of oppression was aggravated by the most ungenerous irony. "I shew myself," fays Julian, " the true friend of the Galilæans. Their admirable law has promised the kingdom of heaven to the poor; and they will advance with more diligence in the paths of virtue and falvation, when they are relieved by my affiftance from the load of temporal Take care," purfued the mopollelions. narch, in a more serious tone, "take care how you provoke my patience and humanity. these disorders continue, I will revenge on the magistrates the crimes of the people; and you " will

(124) This transformation is not given as absolutely certain, but as extremely probable. See the Longueruana, tom. i. p. 194.

(125) A curious history of the worship of St. George, from the sixth century (when he was already revered in Palestine, in Armenia, at Rome, and at Treves in Gaul), might be extracted from Dr. Heylin (History of St. George, 2d edition, London 1633, in 4to. pp. 429.), and the Bollandists (Act. SS. Mens. April. tom. iii. p. 100—163.). His same and popularity in Europe, and especially in England, proceeded from the Crusades.

(127). Julian. Epift. xliii.

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" will have reason to dread, not only confisca-"tion and exile, but fire and the fword." The tumults of Alexandria were doubtless of a more bloody and dangerous nature: but a Christian bishop had fallen by the hands of the Pagans; and the public epiftle of Julian affords a very lively proof of the partial spirit of his administration. His reproaches to the citizens of Alexandria are mingled with expressions of esteem and tenderness; and he laments, that, on this occasion, they should have departed from the gentle and generous manners which attested their Grecian extraction. He gravely censures the offence which they had committed against the laws of justice and humanity; but he recapitu lates, with visible complacency, the intolerable provocations which they had fo long endured from the impious tyranny of George of Cappa docia. Julian admits the principle, that a will and vigorous government should chastise their folence of the people: yet, in confideration of their founder Alexander, and of Serapis their to telar deity, he grants a free and gracious pardo to the guilty city, for which he again feels the affection of a brother (128).

Restoration of Athana-

After the tumult of Alexandria had fublided Athanasius, amidst the public acclamations, seal A.D. 362, ed himself on the throne from whence his un February21. worthy competitor had been precipitated: and the zeal of the archbishop was tempered with discretion, the exercise of his authority tender not to inflame, but to reconcile, the minds the people. His paftoral labours were not con fined to the narrow limits of Egypt.

⁽¹²⁸⁾ Julian. Epift. x. He allowed his friends to affuage his angu Ammian. xxii. 1 1.

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of the Christian world was present to his active and capacious mind; and the age, the merit, the reputation of Athanasius, enabled him to assume, n a moment of danger, the office of Ecclefiaftical Dictator (129). Three years were not yet elapsed since the majority of the bishops of the West had ignorantly, or reluctantly, sub-scribed, the Confession of Rimini. They repented, they believed, but they dreaded the unseasonable rigour of their orthodox brethren: and if their pride was stronger than their faith, they might throw themselves into the arms of the Arians, to escape the indignity of a public penance, which must degrade them to the condition of obscure laymen. At the same time, he domestic differences concerning the union and distinction of the divine persons were agitated with some heat among the Catholic doctors; and the progress of this metaphysical controverly seemed to threaten a public and lasting diviion of the Greek and Latin churches. wisdom of a select synod, to which the name and presence of Athanasius gave the authority of a general council, the bishops, who had unwarily deviated into error, were admitted to the communion of the church, on the easy condition of lubscribing the Nicene Creed; without any formal acknowledgment of their patt fault, or any minute definition of their scholastic opinions. The advice of the primate of Egypt had already prepared the clergy of Gaul and Spain, of Italy and Greece, for the reception of this falutary measure; and, notwithstanding the opposition of

⁽¹²⁹⁾ See Athanas. ad Rusin. tom. ii. p. 40, 41.; and Greg. Nazianzen Orat. iii. p. 395, 396, who justly states the temperate zeal of the primate, as much more meritorious than his prayers, his fasts, his perfecutions, &c.

of fome ardent spirits (130), the fear of the common enemy promoted the peace and harmo-

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ny of the Christians (131).

He is perfecuted and expelled by Julian-A. D. 362,

The fkill and diligence of the primate of Egypt had improved the feafon of tranquility. before it was interrupted by the hostile edicts of October 23, the emperor (132). Julian, who despised the Christians, honoured Athanasius with his sincere For his fake alone, he and peculiar hatred. introduced an arbitrary distinction, repugnant, at least to the spirit, of his former declarations He maintained, that the Galilæans, whom he had recalled from exile, were not restored, by that general indulgence, to the possession of their respective churches: and he expressed his astonish ment, that a criminal, who had been repeated condemned by the judgment of the emperors, should dare to infult the majesty of the laws, and infolently usurp the archiepiscopal throne of Alexandria, without expecting the orders of his fovereign. As a punishment for the imaginary offence, he again banished Athanasius from the city; and he was pleased to suppose, that this act of justice would be highly agreeable to highly pious subjects. The preffing folicitations of the

> (130) I have not leifure to follow the blind obstinacy of Lucifer Cagliari. See his adventures in Tillemont (Mem. Ecclef. tom. vii. 996.); and observe how the colour of the narrative insensibly change as the confessor becomes a schismatic.

> (131) Assensus est huic sententiæ Occidens, et, per tam necessarius concilium, Satanæ faucibus mundus ereptus. The lively and artful Dis logue of Jerom against the Luciferians (tom. ii. p. 135-55.) exhibits original picture of the ecclefiaftical policy of the times.

> (132) Tillemont, who supposes that George was massacred in Augul crowds the actions of Athanasius into a narrow space (Mem. Eccles. tot viii. p. 360.). An original fragment, published by the marquis Matt from the old Chapter-library of Verona (Offervazioni Litterarie, ton iii. p. 60-92.) affords many important dates, which are authenticated the computation of Egyptian months,

people foon convinced him, that the majority of the Alexandrians were Christians; and that the greatest part of the Christians were firmly attached to the cause of their oppressed primate. But the knowledge of their fentiments, instead of persuading him to recall his decree, provoked him to extend to all Egypt the term of the exile of Athanafius. The zeal of the multitude rendered Iulian still more inexorable: he was alarmed by the danger of leaving at the head of a tumultuous city, a daring and popular leader; and the language of his refentment discovers the opinion which he entertained of the courage and abilities of Athanasius. The execution of the sentence was still delayed, by the caution or negligence of Ecdicius, præfect of Egypt, who was at length awakened from his lethargy by a fevere reprimand. "Though you neglect," fays Julian, to " write to me on any other subject, at least it is " your duty to inform me of your conduct to-" wards Athanasius, the enemy of the gods. " My intentions have been long fince commu-" nicated to you. I fwear by the great Serapis, " that unless, on the calends of December, " Athanasius has departed from Alexandria, nay " from Egypt, the officers of your government " shall pay a fine of one hundred pounds of gold. You know my temper: I am flow to " condemn, but I am still slower to forgive." This epiftle was enforced by a short postscript, written with the emperor's own hand. "The " contempt that is shewn for all the gods fills " me with grief and indignation. " nothing that I should see, nothing that I should " hear, with more pleasure, than the expulsion " of Athanasius from all Egypt. The abomi-" nable wretch! Under my reign, the baptism

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" of several Grecian ladies of the highest rank " has been the effect of his persecutions (133)." The death of Athanasius was not expressly commanded; but the præfect of Egypt understood, that it was fafer for him to exceed, than to neg. lect, the orders of an irritated master. archbishop prudently retired to the monasteries of the Defert: eluded, with his usual dexterity, the fnares of the enemy; and lived to triumph over the ashes of a prince, who, in words of formidable import, had declared his wish that the whole venom of the Galilæan school were contained in the fingle person of Athanafius (134).

Zeal andimthe Chriftians.

I have endeavoured faithfully to represent the prudence of the artful system by which Julian proposed to obtain the effects, without incurring the guilt, or reproach, of perfecution. But if the deadly spirit of fanaticism perverted the heart and understanding of a virtuous prince, it must, at the same time, be confessed, that the real sufferings of the Christians were inflamed and magnified by human passions and religious enthusiasm. The meekness and resignation which had distinguished the primitive disciples of the gospel, was the object of the applause, rather than of the imitation, of their fuccesfors. The Christians, who had now possessed above forty years the to post of

> (133) Τον μιαρον, ος ετολμησεν Ελληιδας, επ' εμε, γυναικας των επισημων βαπτισαι διωκεσθαι. I have preserved the ambiguous fense of the last word, the ambiguity of a tyrant who wished to find, of to create, guilt.

⁽¹³⁴⁾ The three Epistles of Julian, which explain his intentions and conduct with regard to Athanasius, should be dispoted in the following chronological order, xxvi, x, vi. See likewise Greg. Nazianzen, xxi.p. 393. Sozomen, l. v. c. 15. Socrates, l. iii. c. 14. Theodoret, l. iii. c. 9. and Tillemont, Mem. Eccles. tom. viii. p. 361-368, who has uled some materials prepared by the Bollandists.

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civil and ecclefiaftical government of the empire, had contracted the insolent vices of prosperity (135), and the habit of believing, that the faints alone were entitled to reign over the earth. As foon as the enmity of Julian deprived the clergy of the privileges which had been conferred by the favour of Constantine, they complained of the most cruel oppression; and the free toleration of idolaters and heretics was a subject of grief and scandal to the orthodox party (136). The acts of violence, which were no longer countenanced by the magistrates, were fill committed by the zeal of the people. Pessinus, the altar of Cybele was overturned almost in the presence of the emperor; and in the city of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, the temple of Fortune, the sole place of worship which had been left to the Pagans, was destroyed by the rage of a popular tumult. On these occasions, a prince, who felt for the honour of the gods, was not disposed to interrupt the course of justice; and his mind was still more deeply exasperated, when he found, that the fanatics, who had deserved and suffered the punishment of incendiaries, were rewarded with the honours of martyrdom (137). The Christian subjects of Julian were affured of the hostile designs of their fovereign; and, to their jealous apprehension, every circumstance of his government might afford

(135) See the fair confession of Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 61, 62.).

(136) Hear the furious and abfurd complaint of Optatus (de Schismat. Donatist. 1. ii. c. 16, 17.).

⁽¹³⁷⁾ Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iii. p. 91. iv. p. 133. He praises the rioters of Cæsarea, τουτων δε των μεγαλοφυων και θεριων εις Ευσεβειαν. See Sozomen, l. v. 4. 11. Tillemont Mem. Eccles. tom. vii. p. 649, 650) owns, that their behaviour was not, dans l'ordre commun; but he is perfectly satisfied, as the great St. Basil always celebrated the festival of these blessed martyrs.

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ford some grounds of discontent and suspicion In the ordinary administration of the laws, the Christians, who formed so large a part of the people, must frequently be condemned: but their indulgent brethren, without examining the merits of the caule, prefumed their innocence, allowed their claims, and imputed the severity of their judge to the partial malice of religious perfecution (138). These present hardships, intolerable as they might appear, were represented as a flight prelude of the impending calamities The Christians considered Julian as a cruel and crafty tyrant; who suspended the execution of his revenge, till he should return victorious from the Persian war. They expected, that as soon as he had triumphed over the foreign enemies of Rome, he would lay aside the irksome mask of diffimulation; that the amphitheatres would ftream with the blood of hermits and bishops; and that the Christians, who still persevered in the profession of the faith, would be deprived of the common benefits of nature and fociety (139) Every calumny (140) that could wound the reputation of the Apostate, was credulously embraced by the fears and hatred of his adversa-

(138) Julian determined a law-fuit against the new Christian city and Maiuma, the port of Gaza; and his sentence, though it might be imputed to bigotry, was never reversed by his successors. Sozomen, 1. v. and 3. Reland. Palestin. tom. ii. p. 791.

(139) Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 93, 94, 95. Orat. iv. p. 114.) pretends to speak from the information of Julian's confidents, whom Orofius (vi.

30.) could not have feen.

(140) Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 91.) charges the Apoltate with fecret for crifices of boys and girls; and positively affirms, that the dead hoose were thrown into the Orontes. See Theodoret, l. iii. c. 26, 27.; and the equivoca candour of the Abbé de la Bleterie. Vie de Julien, p. 351, 351. Yet contemporary malice could not impute to Julian the troops of maity more especially in the West, which Baronius so greedily swallows, and Tillemont so faintly rejects (Mem. Eccles. tom. vii. p. 1295—1315.)

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ries; and their indifcreet clamours provoked the temper of a fovereign, whom it was their duty to respect, and their interest to flatter. They still protested, that prayers and tears were their only weapons against the impious tyrant, whose head they devoted to the justice of offended Heaven. But they infinuated, with fullen resolution, that their submission was no longer the effect of weakness; and that, in the imperfect state of human virtue, the patience, which s founded on principle, may be exhausted by persecution. It is impossible to determine how far the zeal of Julian would have prevailed over his good sense and humanity: but if we seriously reflect on the strength and spirit of the church, we shall be convinced, that, before the emperor could have extinguished the religion of Christ, he must have involved his country in the horrors of a civil war (141).

(141) The refignation of Gregory is truly edifying (Orat. iv. p. 123, 124.). Yet, when an officer of Julian attempted to feize the church of Nazianzus, he would have lost his life, if he had not yielded to the zeal of the bishop and people (Orat. xix. p. 308.). See the reflections of Chrysostom, as they are alleged by Tillemont (Mem. Eccles. tom. vii. p. 575).

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CHAP. XXIV.

Residence of Julian at Antioch—His successful Expedition against the Persians.—Passage of the Tigris.—The Retreat and Death of Julian.—Election of Jovian.—He saves the Roman Army by a disgraceful Treaty.

The Cæfars of Julian.

THE philosophical fable which Julian composed under the name of the CÆSARS(1), is one of the most agreeable and instructive productions of ancient wit (2). During the freedom and equality of the days of the Saturnalia, Romulus prepared a feast for the deities of Olympus, who had adopted him as a worthy associate, and for the Roman princes, who had reigned over his martial people, and the vanquished nations of the earth. The immortals were placed in just order on their thrones of state, and the table of the Cæsars was spread below the Moon,

(1) See this fable or fatire, p. 306—336. of the Leipfig edition of Julian's works. The French version of the learned Ezekiel Spanheim (Paris, 1683.) is coarse, languid, and correct; and his notes, proofs, illustrations, &c. are piled on each other till they form a mass of 557 close-printed quarto pages. The Abbé de la Bleterie (Vie de Jovie, tom. i. p. 241—393.) has more happily expressed the spirit, as well as the sense, of the original, which he illustrates with some concise and currous notes.

(2) Spanheim (in his preface) has most learnedly discussed the etymology, origin, resemblance, and disagreement of the Greek satyrs, a dramatic piece, which was acted after the tragedy; and the Latin satures (from Satura), a miscellaneous composition, either in prose or verse. But the Cæsars of Julian are of such an original cast, that the critic is perplexed to which class he should ascribe them.

in the upper region of the air. The tyrants, who would have difgraced the fociety of gods and men, were thrown headlong, by the inexorable Nemelis, into the Tartarean abyss. rest of the Cæsars successively advanced to their feats; and, as they passed, the vices, the defects, the blemishes of their respective characters, were maliciously noticed by old Silenus, a laughing moralist, who disguised the wisdom of a philosopher under the mask of a Bacchanal (3). As foon as the feast was ended, the voice of Mercury proclaimed the will of Jupiter, that a celestial crown should be the reward of superior Julius Cæsar, Augustus, Trajan, and Marcus Antoninus, were selected as the most illustrious candidates; the effeminate Constantine (4) was not excluded from this honourable competition, and the great Alexander was invited to dispute the prize of glory with the Roman heroes. Each of the candidates was allowed to display the merit of his own exploits; but, in the judgment of the gods, the modest tilence of Marcus pleaded more powerfully than the elaborate orations of his haughty rivals. When the judges of this awful contest proceeded to examine the heart, and to fcrutinize the fprings of action; the superiority of the Imperial Stoic appeared still more decisive and conspicuous (5). Alexander and Cæsar, Augustus, Trajan,

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(3) This mixed character of Silenus is finely painted in the fixth ecloque of Virgil.

⁽⁴⁾ Every impartial reader must perceive and condemn the partiality of Julian against his uncle Constantine, and the Christian religion. On this occasion, the interpreters are compelled, by a more facred interest, to renounce their allegiance, and to desert the cause of their author.

⁽⁵⁾ Julian was fecretly inclined to prefer a Greek to a Roman. But when he feriously compared a hero with a philosopher, he was sensible

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Trajan, and Constantine, acknowledged with a blush, that same, or power, or pleasure, had been the important object of their labours: but the gods themselves beheld, with reverence and love, a virtuous mortal, who had practised on the throne the lessons of philosophy; and who, in a state of human impersection, had aspired to imitate the moral attributes of the Deity. The value of this agreeable composition (the Cæsars of Julian) is enhanced by the rank of the author. A prince, who delineates with freedom the vices and virtues of his predecessors, subscribes, in every line, the censure or approbation of his own conduct.

He resolves to march against the Persians, A. D. 362. In the cool moments of reflection, Julian preferred the useful and benevolent virtues of Antoninus: but his ambitious spirit was inflamed by the glory of Alexander; and he solicited, with equal ardour, the esteem of the wise, and the applause of the multitude. In the season of life, when the powers of the mind and body enjoy the most active vigour, the emperor, who was instructed by the experience, and animated by the success, of the German war, resolved to signalize his reign by some more splendid and memorable atchievement. The ambassadors of the East, from the continent of India, and the isse of Ceylon (6), had respectfully saluted the

that mankind had much greater obligations to Socrates than to Alexander (Orat. ad Themistium, p. 264.).

(6) Inde nationibus Indicis certatim cum donis optimates mittentibus... ab usque Divis et Serendivis. Ammian. xx. 7. This island, to which the names of Taprobana, Serendib, and Ceylon, have been successively applied, manifests how imperfectly the seas and lands, to the east of cape Comorin, were known to the Romans. 1: Under the reign of Claudius, a freedman, who farmed the customs of the Red Sea, was accidentally driven by the winds upon this strange and undiscovered coast: he conversed

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Roman purple (7). The nations of the West esteemed and dreaded the personal virtues of Julian, both in peace and war. He despised the trophies of a Gothic victory (8), and was faisfied that the rapacious Barbarians of the Danube would be restrained from any future vioation of the faith of treaties, by the terror of his name, and the additional fortifications, with which he strengthened the Thracian and Illyrian The fuccessor of Cyrus and Artaxrontiers. erxes was the only rival whom he deemed worthy of his arms; and he resolved, by the final conquest of Persia, to chastise the haughty nation, which had fo long refifted and infulted the maefty of Rome (9). As foon as the Perlian monarch was informed that the throne of Constanfius was filled by a prince of a very different character, he condescended to make some artful, or perhaps fincere, overtures, towards a negociation of peace. But the pride of Sapor was astonished by the firmness of Julian; who sternly declared, that he would never confent to hold a peaceful

tonversed six months with the natives; and the king of Ceylon, who heard, for the first time, of the power and justice of Rome, was perfuaded to send an embassy to the emperor (Plin. Hist. Nat. vi. 24.). 2. The geographers (and even Ptoleiny) have magnified, above fifteen times, the real size of this new world, which they extended as far as the equator, and the neighbourhood of China.

(7) These embassies had been sent to Constantius. Ammianus, who unwarily deviates into gross flattery, must have forgotten the length of the way, and the short duration of the reign of Julian.

(8) Gothos sæpe fallaces et persidos; hostes quærere se meliores aiebat: illis enim sufficere mercatores Galatas per quos ubique sine conditionis discrimine venumdantur. Within less than sisteen years, these Gothic slaves threatened and subdued their masters.

(9) Alexander reminds his rival Cæsar, who depreciated the same and merit of an Asiatic victory, that Crassus and Antony had selt the Persian arrows; and that the Romans, in a war of three hundred years, had not yet subdued the single province of Mesopotamia or Assyria (Cæsares, p. 324.).

a peaceful conference among the flames and

ruins of the cities of Mesopotamia; and who added, with a smile of contempt, that it was needless to treat by ambassadors, as he himself had determined to visit speedily the court of The impatience of the emperor urged the diligence of the military preparations. generals were named; a formidable army was destined for this important service; and Julian, marching from Conftantinople through the provinces of Asia Minor, arrived at Antioch about eight months after the death of his predecessor. His ardent defire to march into the heart of Persia, was checked by the indispensible duty of regulating the state of the empire; by his zeal to revive the worship of the gods; and by the advice of his wifest friends; who represented the necessity of allowing the falutary interval of winter-quarters, to restore, the exhausted strength of the legions of Gaul, and the discipline and Constantino-spirit of the Eastern troops. Julian was perfuaded to fix, till the ensuing spring, his resdence at Antioch, among a people maliciously disposed to deride the haste, and to censure the delays, of their fovereign (10).

Julian proceeds from tioch, August.

If Julian had flattered himself, that his per-Licentious the people of Antioch.

manners of fonal connection with the capital of the East would be productive of mutual fatisfaction to the prince and people, he made a very false estimate of his own character, and of the manners of Antioch (11). The warmth of the climate

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(10) The defign of the Persian war is declared by Ammianus (xxii.) 12.), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 79, 80. p. 305, 306.), Zozimus (l. iii. ! 158.), and Socrates (l. iii. c. 19.).

⁽¹¹⁾ The Satire of Julian, and the Homilies of St. Chrysoftom, exhibit the same picture of Antioch. The miniature which the Abbé de la Bletterie has copied from thence (Vie de Julien, p. 332.) is elegant and co-

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disposed the natives to the most intemperate enjoyment of tranquility and opulence; and the lively licentiousness of the Greeks was blended with the hereditary softness of the Syrians. Fashion was the only law, pleasure the only purfuit, and the splendour of dress and furniture was the only distinction of the citizens of Anti-The arts of luxury were honoured; the ferious and manly virtues were the subject of ridicule; and the contempt for female modesty, and reverent age, announced the universal corruption of the capital of the East. The love of spectacles was the taste, or rather the passion, of the Syrians: the most skilful artists were procured from the adjacent cities (12); a confiderable share of the revenue was devoted to the public amusements; and the magnificence of the games of the theatre and circus was confidered as the happiness, and as the glory, of Antioch. The ruftic manners of a prince who disdained fuch glory, and was insensible of such happiness, soon disgusted the delicacy of his subjects; and the effeminate Orientals could neither imitate, nor admire, the severe simplicity which Julian always maintained, and sometimes affected. The days of festivity, consecrated, by ancient custom, to the honour of the gods, were the only occasions in which Julian relaxed his philosophic severity; and those festivals were the only days in which the Syrians of Antioch could reject the allurements of pleasure. The majority of the people supported the glory of the Christiin name, which had been first invented by their VOL. IV. ancestors

⁽¹²⁾ Laodicea furnished charioteers; Tyre and Berytus, comedians; Casarea, pantomimes; Heliopolis, singers; Gaza, gladiators; Ascalon, wrestlers; and Castabala, rope-dancers. See the Expositio totius Mundi, 5.6. in the third tome of Hudson's Minor Geographers.

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ancestors (13): they contented themselves with disobeying the moral precepts, but they were scrupulously attached to the speculative doctrines of their religion. The church of Antioch was distracted by heresy and schiss, but the Arians and the Athanasians, the followers of Meletius and those of Paulinus (14), were actuated by the same pious hatred of their common adversary.

Their averfion to Juli-

The strongest prejudice was entertained against the character of an apostate, the enemy and successor of a prince who had engaged the affections of a very numerous sect; and the removal of St. Babylas excited an implacable opposition to the person of Julian. His subjects complained with superstitious indignation, that famine had pursued the emperor's steps from Constantinople to Antioch; and the discontent of a hungry people was exasperated by the injudicious attempt to relieve their distress. The inclemency of the season had affected the harvests of Syria; and the price of bread (15), in the mar-

Scarcity of corn, and public difcontent.

(13) Χεισον δε αγαπωντες, εχετε πολιεχον αντι τε Διος. The people of Antioch ingeniously professed their attachment to the Ch (Christ) and the Kappa (Constantius). Julian in Misopogon, p. 537.

(14) The schissm of Antioch, which lasted eighty-five years (A.D. 330—415.), was inflamed, while Julian resided in that city, by the indiscreet ordination of Paulinus. See Tillemont. Mem. Eccles. tom. vii p. 803. of the quarto edition (Paris, 1701, &c.), which hencesorward!

shall quote.

(15) Julian states three different proportions of five, ten, or fisten modii of wheat, for one piece of gold, according to the degrees of plenty and scarcity (in Misopogon, p. 369.). From this sact, and from some collateral examples, I conclude, that under the successors of Constantine, the moderate price of wheat was about thirty-two shillings the English quarter, which is equal to the average price of the fixty-sour first years of the present century. See Arbuthnot's Tables of Coins, Weights, and Measures, p. 88, 89. Plin. Hist. Natur. xviii. 12. Mem. de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. xxviii. p. 718—721. Smith's Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, vol. i. p. 246. This last last proud to quote, as the work of a sage and a friend.

kets of Antioch, had naturally rifen in proportion to the scarcity of corn. But the fair and reasonable proportion was soon violated by the rapacious arts of monopoly. In this unequal contest, in which the produce of the land is claimed by one party, as his exclusive property; is used by another as a lucrative object of trade; and is required by a third, for the daily and necessary support of life; all the profits of the intermediate agents are accumulated on the head The hardships of of the defenceless consumers. their lituation were exaggerated and encreased by their own impatience and anxiety; and the apprehension of a scarcity gradually produced the appearances of a famine. When the luxuriant citizens of Antioch complained of the high price of poultry and fish, Julian publickly declared, that a frugal city ought to be fatisfied with a regular supply of wine, oil, and bread; but he acknowledged that it was the duty of a lovereign to provide for the subsistence of his people. With this falutary view, the emperor ventured on a dangerous and doubtful step, of fixing, by legal authority, the value of corn. He enacted, that in a time of scarcity, it should be fold at a price which had feldom been known in the most plentiful years; and that his own example might strengthen his laws, he fent into the market four hundred and twenty-two thouland modii, or measures, which were drawn, by his order, from the granaries of Hierapolis, of The consequences Chalcis, and even of Egypt. might have been foreseen, and were soon felt. The Imperial wheat was purchased by the rich merchants: the proprietors of land, or of corn, withheld from the city the accustomed supply; and the small quantities that appeared in the mar-K 2 ket,

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ket, were fecretly fold at an advanced and illegal price. Julian still continued to applaud his own policy, treated the complaints of the people as a vain and ungrateful murmur, and convinced Antioch, that he had inherited the obstinacy, though not the cruelty, of his brother Gallus (16). The remonstrances of the municipal fenate ferved only to exasperate his inflexible mind. He was persuaded, perhaps with truth, that the fenators of Antioch who possessed lands, or were concerned in trade, had themfelves contributed to the calamities of their country; and he imputed the difrespectful boldness which they affumed, to the fense, not of public duty, but of private interest. The whole body, confisting of two hundred of the most noble and wealthy citizens, were fent, under a guard from the palace to the prison; and though they were permitted, before the close of evening, to return to their respective houses (17), the empe ror himself could not obtain the forgiveness which he had so easily granted. The same grievances were still the subject of the same complaints which were industriously circulated by the wi and levity of the Syrian Greeks. During the licentious days of the Saturnalia, the streets of the city resounded with insolent songs, which derided the laws, the religion, the personal conduct, and even the beard of the emperor; and the spirit of Antioch was manifested by the connivand

(17) Their short and easy confinement is gently touched by Libania

(Orat. Parental. c. xcviii. p. 322, 323.).

⁽¹⁶⁾ Nunquam a proposito declinabat, Galli similis fratris, licet inco entus. Ammian. xxii. 14. The ignorance of the most enlightened print may claim fome excuse; but we cannot be satisfied with Julian's out defence (in Misopogon, p. 368, 369), or the elaborate apology of Libania (Orat. Parental. c. xcvii. p. 321.).

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nivance of the magistrates, and the applause of the multitude (18). The disciple of Socrates was too deeply affected by these popular insults; but the monarch, endowed with quick sensibility, and possessed of absolute power, refused his passions the gratification of revenge. might have proscribed, without distinction, the lives and fortunes of the citizens of Antioch; and the unwarlike Syrians must have patiently submitted to the lust, the rapaciousness, and the cruelty of the faithful legions of Gaul. A milder sentence might have deprived the capital of the East of its honours and privileges; and the courtiers, perhaps the subjects, of Julian, would have applauded an act of justice, which afferted the dignity of the supreme magistrate of the republic (19). But instead of abusing, or exerting, the authority of the state, to revenge his personal injuries, Julian contented himself with Julian coman inoffensive mode of retaliation, which it against Anwould be in the power of few princes to employ tioch. He had been infulted by fatires and libels; in his turn he composed, under the title of the Enemy of the Beard, an ironical confession of his own faults, and a fevere fatire of the licentious and effeminate manners of Antioch. The Imperial reply was publicly exposed before the gates of

(18) Libanius (ad Antiochenos de Imperatorie ira, c. 17, 18, 19. in Fabricius, Bibliot. Græc. tom. vii. p. 221—223.), like a skilsul advocate, censures the folly of the people, who suffered for the crime of a few obture and drunken wretches.

the palace; and the Misopogon (20) still re-

(19) Libanius (ad Antiochen. c. vii. p. 213.) reminds Antioch of the recent chastisement of Cæsarea: and even Julian (in Misopogon, p. 355.) infinuates how severely Tarentum had expiated the insult to the Roman ambassadors.

(20) On the subject of the Misopogon, see Ammianus (xxii. 14.), Libanius (Orat. Parentalis, c. xcix. p. 323.), Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iv.

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mains a fingular monument of the refentment. the wit, the humanity, and and the indifcretion of Julian. Though he affected to laugh, he could not forgive (21). His contempt was expressed, and his revenge might be gratified, by the nomination of a governor (22) worthy only of fuch subjects: and the emperor, for ever renouncing the ungrateful city, proclaimed his refolution to pass the ensuing winter at Tarsus in Cilicia (23).

The fophist Libanius. A. D. 314-390, &c.

Yet Antioch possessed one citizen, whose genius and virtues might atone, in the opinion of Julian, for the vice and folly of his country. The sophist Libanius was born in the capital of the East; he publicly professed the arts of rhetoric and declamation at Nice, Nicomedia, Constantinople, Athens, and, during the remainder of his life, at Antioch. His school was assiduoully frequented by the Grecian youth; his difciples, who fometimes exceeded the number of eighty, celebrated their incomparable master; and the jealoufy of his rivals, who perfecuted him from one city to another, confirmed the favourable

p. 133.), and the Chronicle of Antioch, by John Malela, (tom. ii. p. 15. 16.). I have essential obligations to the translation and notes of the Abbé de la Bleterie (Vie de Jovien, tom. ii. p. 1-138.).

(21) Ammianus very justly remarks, Coactus dissimulare pro tempore ira sufflabatur interna. The elaborate irony of Julian at length bursts forth into ferious and direct invective.

(22) Ipse autem Antiochiam egressurus, Heliopoliten quendam Alexandrum Syriacæ jurisdictioni præsecit turbulentum et sævum; dicebatque non illum meruisse, sed Antiochensibus avaris et contumeliosis hujusmodi judicem convenire. Ammian, xxiii. 2. Libanius (Epist. 722. p. 346, 347.), who confesses to Julian himself, that he had shared the general discontent, pretends that Alexander was an useful, though harsh, reform er of the manners and religion of Antioch.

(23) Julian, in Misopogon, p. 364. Ammiad. xxiii. ii. and Valesius ad loc. Libanius, in a professed oration, invites him to return to his loys and penitent city of Antioch.

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vourable opinion which Libanius oftentatiously displayed of his superior merit. The præceptors of Julian had extorted a rash but solemn assurance, that he would never attend the lectures of their adversary: the curiosity of the royal youth was checked and inflamed: he fecretly procured the writings of this dangerous fophist, and gradually surpassed, in the perfect imitation of his fivle, the most laborious of his domestic pu-When Julian ascended the throne. pils (24). he declared his impatience to embrace and reward the Syrian fophist, who had preserved, in a degenerate age, the Grecian purity of taste, of The emperor's premanners, and of religion. possession was encreased and justified by the dis-Instead of pressing, creet pride of his favourite. with the foremost of the crowd, into the palace of Conftantinople, Libanius calmly expected his arrival at Antioch; withdrew from his court on the first symptoms of coldness and indifference; required a formal invitation for each visit; and taught his fovereign an important lesson, that he might command the obedience of a subject, but that he must deserve the attachment of a friend. The fophists of every age, despising, or affecting to despise, the accidental distinctions of birth and fortune (25), reserve their esteem for the superior qualities of the mind, with which they themselves are so plentifully endowed. lian might disdain the acclamations of a venal court, who adored the Imperial purple; but he was

(24) Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. vii. p. 230, 231.

⁽²⁵⁾ Eunapius reports, that Libanius refused the honorary rank of Prætorian præsect, as less illustrious than the title of Sophist (in Vit. Sophist. p. 135.) The critics have observed a similar sentiment in one of the epistles (xviii, edit. Wolf.) of Libanius himself.

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was deeply flattered by the praise, the admonition, the freedom, and the envy of an independent philosopher, who refused his favours, loved his person, celebrated his fame, and pro-The voluminous writings tected his memory. of Libanius still exist; for the most part, they are the vain and idle compositions of an orator, who cultivated the science of words; the productions of a recluse student, whose mind, regardless of his contemporaries, was incessantly fixed on the Trojan war, and the Athenian commonwealth. Yet the fophist of Antioch sometimes descended from this imaginary elevation; he entertained a various and elaborate correfpondence (26); he praised the virtues of his own times; he boldly arraigned the abuses of public and private life; and he eloquently pleaded the cause of Antioch against the just resentment of Julian and Theodosius. It is the common calamity of old age (27), to lose whatever might have rendered it defirable; but Libanius experienced the peculiar misfortune of furviving the religion and the sciences, to which he had consecrated his genius. The friend of Julian was an indignant spectator of the triumph of Christianity; and his bigotry, which darkened the prospect of the visible world, did not inspire Libanius

⁽²⁶⁾ Near two thousand of his letters, a mode of composition in which Libanius was thought to excel, are still extant, and already published. The critics may praise their subtle and elegant brevity; yet Dr. Bentley (Dissertation upon Phalaris, p. 487.) might justly, though quaintly, observe, that "you seel by the emptiness and deadness of them, that you converse with some dreaming pedant, with his elbow on his desk."

⁽²⁷⁾ His birth is affigned to the year 314. He mentions the seventy-fixth year of his age (A. D. 390.), and seems to allude to some events of a still later date.

banius with any lively hopes of celestial glory and

happiness (28).

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The martial impatience of Julian urged him March of Juto take the field in the beginning of the spring; lian to the Euphrates, and he dismissed, with contempt and reproach, A. D. 363, the senate of Antioch, who accompanied the March 5. emperor beyond the limits of their own territory, to which he was resolved never to return. a laborious march of two days (29), he halted on the third, at Beræa, or Aleppo, where he had the mortification of finding a senate almost entirely Christian; who received with cold and formal demonstrations of respect, the eloquent sermon of the apostle of paganism. The fon of one of the most illustrious citizens of Beræa, who had embraced, either from interest or conscience, the religion of the emperor, was difinherited by his angry parent. The father and the fon were invited to the Imperial table. lian, placing himself between them, attempted, without fuccess, to inculcate the lesson and example of toleration; supported, with affected calmness, the indiscreet zeal of the aged Christian, who feemed to forget the fentiments of nature, and the duty of a subject; and, at length

⁽²⁸⁾ Libanius has composed the vain, prolix, but curious narrative of his own life (tom. ii. p. 1—84. edit. Morell.), of which Eunapius (p. 130—135.) has left a concise and unfavourable account. Among the moderns, Tillemont (Hitt. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 571—576), Pabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. vii. p. 378—414.), and Lardner (Heathen Testimonies, tom. iv. p. 127—163.), have illustrated the character and writings of this famous sophist.

⁽²⁹⁾ From Antioch to Litarbe, on the territory of Chalcis, the road, over hills and through morasses, was extremely bad; and the loose stones were cemented only with sand (Julian, epist. xxvii.) It is singular enough, that the Romans should have neglected the great communication between Antioch and the Euphrates. See Wesseling. Itinerar. p. 190. Bergier, Hist. des Grands Chemins, tom. ii. p. 100.

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length turning towards the afflicted youth "Since you have loft a father," faid he, "for " my fake, it is incumbent on me to supply his " place (30)." The emperor was received in a manner much more agreeable to his wishes at Batnæ, a small town pleasantly seated in a grove of cypresses, about twenty miles from the city of Hierapolis. The folemn rites of facrifice were decently prepared by the inhabitants of Batna. who feemed attached to the worship of their tutelar deities, Apollo and Jupiter; but the serious piety of Julian was offended by the tumult of their applause; and he too clearly discerned, that the smoke which arose from their altars was the incense of flattery, rather than of devotion. The ancient and magnificent temple, which had fanctified, for fo many ages, the city of Hierapolis (31), no longer sublisted; and the confecrated wealth, which afforded a liberal maintenance to more than three hundred priefts, might haften its downfall. Yet Julian enjoyed the fatisfaction of embracing a philosopher and a friend, whose religious firmness had withstood the preffing and repeated folicitations of Constantius and Gallus, as often as those princes lodged at his house, in their passage through Hierapolis. In the hurry of military preparation, and the careless confidence of a familiar correspondence, the zeal of Julian appears to have been lively and uniform. He had now undertaken an important and

(30) Julian alludes to this incident (epist. xxvii.), which is more diffinely related by Theodoret (l. iii. c. 22.). The intogrant spirit of the sather is applauded by Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 534.), and even by La Bleterie (Vie de Julien, p. 413).

(31) See the curious treatife de Deâ Syriâ, inferted among the works of Lucian (tom. iii. p. 451—490. edit. Reitz.). The fingular appellation of Ninus vetus (Ammian. xiv. 8.) might induce a suspicion, that Hierapolis had been the royal seat of the Assyrians.

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pellation at Hiera. and difficult war; and the anxiety of the event rendered him still more attentive to observe and register the most trisling presages, from which, according to the rules of divination, any knowledge of suturity could be derived (32). He informed Libanius of his progress as far as Hierapolis, by an elegant epistle (33), which displays the facility of his genius, and his tender friendship for the sophist of Antioch.

Hierapolis, situate almost on the banks of the His design of Euphrates (34), had been appointed for the ge-invading neral rendezvous of the Roman troops, who immediately passed the great river on a bridge of boats, which was previously constructed (35). If the inclinations of Julian had been similar to those of his predecessor, he might have wasted the active and important season of the year in the circus of Samosata, or in the churches of Edessa. But as the warlike emperor, instead of Constantius, had chosen Alexander for his model, he advanced without delay to Carrhæ (36), a very ancient city of Mesopotamia, at the distance of sourscore miles from Hierapolis. The temple of

(32) Julian (epift. xxviii.) kept a regular account of all the fortunate mens; but he suppresses the inauspicious signs, which Ammianus (xxiii. 2.) has carefully recorded.

(33) Julian, epist. xxvii. p. 399-402.

(34) I take the earliest opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to M d'Anville, for his recent geography of the Euphrates and Tigris (Paris, 1780, in 4to.), which particularly illustrates the expedition of Julian.

(35) There are three passages within a few miles of each other; 1. Zeugma, celebrated by the ancients; 2. Bir, frequented by the moderns; and, 3. The bridge of Menbigz, or Hierapolis, at the distance of four parasangs from the city.

(36) Haran, or Carrhæ, was the ancient residence of the Sabæans, and of Abraham. See the Index Geographicus of Schultens (ad caicem Vit. Saladin.) a work from which I have obtained much Oriental knowledge, concerning the ancient and modern geography of Syria and the adjacent countries.

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the halt of a few days was principally employed In completing the immense preparations of the The fecret of the expedition had Persian war. hitherto remained in his own breast; but as Carrhæ is the point of separation of the two great roads, he could no longer conceal, whether it was his delign to attack the dominions of Sapor on the fide of the Tigris, or on that of the Euphrates. The emperor detached an army of thirty thousand men, under the command of his kinsman Procopius, and of Sebastian, who had been duke of Egypt. They were ordered to direct their march towards Nisibis, and to secure the frontier from the defultory incursions of the enemy, before they attempted the passage of the Tigris. Their subsequent operations were left to the discretion of the generals; but Julian expected, that after wasting with fire and sword the fertile districts of Media and Adiabene, they might arrive under the walls of Ctefiphon about the same time, that he himself, advancing with equal steps along the banks of the Euphrates, should beliege the capital of the Persian mo-Difaffection narchy. The fuccess of this well-concerted plan of the king depended, in a great measure, on the powerful of Armenia and ready affiftance of the king of Armenia, who, without exposing the safety of his own dominions, might detach an army of four thoufand horse, and twenty thousand foot, to the assistance of the Romans (37). But the feeble Arfaces Tiranus (38), king of Armenia, had degenerated

(38) Moses of Chorene (Hist. Armeniac. I. iii. c. 11. p. 242.) fixes his accession (A. D. 354.) to the 17th year of Constantius.

⁽³⁷⁾ See Xenophon. Cyropæd. I. iii. p. 189. edit. Hutchinfon. Attavasdes might have supplied Marc Antony with 16,000 horse, armed and disciplined after the Parthian manner (Plutarch, in M. Antonio, tom. " p. 117.).

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degenerated still more shamefully than his father Chofroes, from the manly virtues of the great Tiridates; and as the pufillanimous monarch was everse to any enterprize of danger and glory, he could difguife his timid indolence by the more decent excuses of religion and gratitude. expressed a pious attachment to the memory of Constantius, from whose hands he had received n marriage Olympias, the daughter of the præfect Ablavius; and the alliance of a female, who had been educated as the destined wife of the emperor Constans, exalted the dignity of a Barbarian king (39). Tiranus professed the Christian religion; he reigned over a nation of Christians; and he was restrained, by every principle of conscience and interest, from contributing to the victory, which would confummate the ruin of The alienated mind of Tiranus was the church. exasperated by the indiscretion of Julian, who treated the king of Armenia as his slave, and as the enemy of the gods. The haughty and threatening style of the Imperial mandates (40) awakened the fecret indignation of a prince, who, in the humiliating state of dependence, was still conscious of his royal descent from the Arfacides, the lords of the East, and the rivals of the Roman power.

The military dispositions of Julian were skilfully contrived to deceive the spies, and to divert

(39) Ammian. xx. 11. Athanasius (tom. i. p. 856.) says, in general terms, that Constantius gave his brother's widow τοις βας δαςοις, an expression more suitable to a Roman than a Christian.

(40) Ammianus (xxiii. 2.) uses a word much too soft for the occasion, monuerat. Muratori (Fabricius, Bibliothec. Græc. tom. vii. p. 86.) has published an epistle from Julian to the satrap Arsaces; sierce, vulgar, and sthough it might deceive Sozomen, l. vi. c. 5.), most probably spurious. La Bleterie (Hist. de Jovien, tom. ii. p. 399.) translates and rejects it.

the attention, of Sapor. The legions appeared to direct their march towards Nisibis and the Tigris. On a fudden they wheeled to the right: traversed the level and naked plain of Carrha and reached, on the third day, the banks of the Euphrates, where the strong town of Nicephorium, or Callinicum, had been founded by the Macedonian kings. From thence the emperor purfued his march, above ninety miles, along the winding stream of the Euphrates, till, at length, about one month after his departure from Antioch, he discovered the towers of Circesium, the extreme limit of the Roman domi-The army of Julian, the most numerous that any of the Cæsars had ever led against Perfia, confisted of fixty-five thousand effective and well-disciplined soldiers. The veteran bands of cavalry and infantry, of Romans and Barbarians, had been selected from the different provinces; and a just pre-eminence of loyalty and valour was claimed by the hardy Gauls, who guarded the throne and person of their beloved prince. A formidable body of Scythian auxiliaries had been transported from another climate, and almost from another world, to invade a diftant country, of whose name and situation they were ignorant. The love of rapine and war allured to the Imperial standard several tribes of Saracens, or roving Arabs, whose service Julian had commanded, while he sternly refused the payment of the accustomed subsidies. broad channel of the Euphrates (41) was crowd-

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⁽⁴¹⁾ Latissimum ssumen Euphraten artabat. Ammian. xxiii. 3. Somewhat higher, at the fords of Thapsacus, the river is four stadia, at 800 yards, almost half an English mile, broad (Xenophon Anabasis, l. i. 4. 41. edit. Hutchinson, with Foster's Observations, p. 29, &c. in the 24.

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ed by a fleet of eleven hundred ships, destined to attend the motions, and to fatisfy the wants, The military strength of of the Roman army. the fleet was composed of fifty armed gallies; and these were accompanied by an equal number of flat-bottomed-boats, which might occafionally be connected into the form of temporary bridges. The rest of the ships, partly confructed of timber, and partly covered with raw lides, were laden with an almost inexhaustible lupply of arms and engines, of utenfils and provisions. The vigilant humanity of Julian ad embarked a very large magazine of vinegar and biscuit for the use of the soldiers, but he prohibited the indulgence of wine; and rigoroully stopped a long string of superfluous camels that attempted to follow the rear of the army. The river Chaboras falls into the Euphrates at Circefium (42); and as foon as the trumpet Julian enters gave the fignal of march, the Romans passed the the Persian ittle stream which separated two mighty and April 7th. hostile empires. The custom of ancient discipline required a military oration; and Julian embraced every opportunity of displaying his doquence. He animated the impatient and atentive legions by the example of the inflexible courage and glorious triumphs of their ancestors. He excited their resentment by a lively picture of the insolence of the Perlians; and he exhorted them to imitate his firm resolution, either

volume of Spelman's translation). If the breadth of the Euphrates at Bir and Zeugma is no more than 130 yards (Voyages de Niebuhr, tom. ii. P. 335.), the enormous difference must chiesly arise from the depth of the channel.

(42) Monumentum tutissimum et sabre politum, cujus mænia Abora (the Orientals aspire Chaboras or Chabour) et Euphrates ambiont sluminas, velut spatium insulare singentes. Ammian. xxiii, 5.

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to extirpate that perfidious nation, or to devote his life in the cause of the republic. The eloquence of Julian was enforced by a donative of one hundred and thirty pieces of filver to every foldier; and the bridge of the Chaboras was instantly cut away, to convince the troops that they must place their hopes of safety in the success of their arms. Yet the prudence of the emperor induced him to secure a remote frontier, perpetually exposed to the inroads of the hostile Arabs. A detachment of four thousand men was left at Circefium, which completed, to the number of ten thousand, the regular garrison of that important fortress (43).

His march fert of Melopotamia.

From the moment that the Romans entered over the de- the enemy's country (44), the country of an active and artful enemy, the order of march was disposed in three columns (45). The strength of the infantry, and consequently of the whole army, was placed in the centre, under the peculiar command of their master-general Victor. On the right, the brave Nevitta led a column of feveral legions along the banks of the Euphrates, and almost always in fight of the fleet. The left flank of the army was protected by the column of cavalry. Hormisdas and Arinthaus were appointed generals of the horse; and the

> (43) The enterprize and armament of Julian are described by himself (Epift. xxvii.), Ammianus Marcellinus (xxiii. 3, 4, 5.), Libanius (Oral-Parent. c. 108, 109. p. 332, 333.), Zosimus (l. iii. p. 160, 161, 161) Sozomen (l. vi. c. 1.), and John Malela (tom. ii. p. 17.).

> (44) Before he enters Persia, Ammianus copiously describes (xxiii.6.4) 396-419. edit. Gronov. in 4to.) the eighteen great satrapies, or province (as far as the Seric, or Chinese frontiers), which were subject to the

⁽⁴⁵⁾ Ammianus (xxiv. 1.) and Zosimus I. iii. p. 162, 163.) have activ rately expressed the order of march,

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fingular adventures of Hormisdas (46) are not undeserving of our notice. He was a Persian prince, of the royal race of the Sassanides, who. n the troubles of the minority of Sapor, had escaped from prison to the hospitable court of the great Constantine. Hormisdas, at first, excited the compassion, and, at length, acquired the esteem, of his new masters; his valour and fidelity raised him to the military honours of he Roman service; and, though a Christian, he might indulge the fecret fatisfaction of convincing his ungrateful country, that an oppressed subject may prove the most dangerous enemy. Such was the disposition of the three principal columns. The front and flanks of the army were covered by Lucillianus with a flying deachment of fifteen hundred light-armed foldiers, whose active vigilance observed the most distant figns, and conveyed the earliest notice, of any hostile approach. Dagalaiphus, and Secundinus duke of Ofrhoene, conducted the troops of the rear-guard; the baggage, securely, proceeded in the intervals of the columns; and the ranks, from a motive either of use or oftentation. were formed in such open order, that the whole Ine of march extended almost ten miles. ordinary post of Julian was at the head of the centre column; but as he preferred the duties of a general to the Sate of a monarch, he rapidly moved, with a fmall escort of light cavalry, to the front, the rear, the flanks, wherever his prelence could animate or protect the march of the Roman army. The country which they tra-VOL. IV. verled

⁽⁴⁶⁾ The adventures of Hormissas are related with some mixture of ble (Zosimus, l. ii. p. 100-102; Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom.)

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versed from the Chaboras, to the cultivated lands of Affyria, may be confidered as a part of the desert of Arabia, a dry and barren waste, which could never be improved by the most powerful arts of human industry. Julian marched over the same ground which had been trod above feven hundred years before by the footsteps of the younger Cyrus, and which is described by one of the companions of his expedition, the fage and heroic Xenophon (47). "The country " was a plain throughout, as even as the fea, " and full of wormwood; and if any other " kind of fhrubs or reeds grew there, they had all an aromatic smell; but no trees could be " feen. Buftards and oftriches, antelopes and " wild affes (48), appeared to be the only inha-" bitants of the desert; and the fatigues of the "march were alleviated by the amusements of " the chace." The loofe fand of the defert was frequently raised by the wind into clouds of dust: and a great number of the foldiers of Julian, with their tents, were fuddenly thrown to the ground by the violence of an unexpected hurricane.

His fuccefs.

The fandy plains of Mesopotamia were abandoned to the antelopes and wild asses of the defert; but a variety of populous towns and villages were pleasantly situated on the banks of the Euphrates,

iv. p. 198.). It is almost impossible that he should be the brother (frates germanus) of an eldest and possibumous child: nor do I recollect that Ammianus ever gives him that title.

(47) See the first book of the Anabasis, p. 45, 46. This pleasing work is original and authentic. Yet Xenophon's memory, perhaps many year after the expedition, has sometimes betrayed him; and the distances which he marks are often larger than either a soldier or a geographer will allow.

(48) Mr. Spelman, the English translator of the Anabasis (vol. i. p. 51.), confounds the antelope with the roe-buck, and the wild-ass with the zerba.

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Euphrates, and in the islands which are occasionally formed by that river. The city of Annah, or Anatho (49), the actual residence of an Arabian Emir, is composed of two long streets. which inclose within a natural fortification, a small island in the midst, and two fruitful spots on either fide, of the Euphrates. The warlike nhabitants of Anatho shewed a disposition to for the march of a Roman emperor; till they were diverted from such fatal presumption by the mild exhortations of prince Horinisdas, and the approaching terrors of the fleet and army. They implored, and experienced, the clemency of Julian; who transplanted the people to an advantageous settlement, near Chalcis in Syria. and admitted Pulæus, the governor, to an honourable rank in his service and friendship. But he impregnable fortress of Thilutha could scorn the menace of a fiege; and the emperor was obged to content himself with an insulting promife, that when he had subdued the interior provinces of Persia, Thilutha would no longer refule to grace the triumph of the conqueror. The inhabitants of the open towns, unable to refift, and unwilling to yield, fled with precipitation; and their houses, filled with poil and provisions, were occupied by the foldiers of Julian, who massacred, without remorfe, and without punishment, some defenceless women. During the march, the Surehas, or Persian general, and Malek Rodosaces,

⁽⁴⁹⁾ See Voyages de Tavernier, part i. l. iii. p. 316 and more especially Viaggi di Pietro della Valle, tom. i. lett. xvii. p. 671, &c. He was ignoment of the old name and condition of Annah. Our blind travellers feldom possess any previous knowledge of the countries which they visit. Shaw and Tournesort deserve an honourable exception.

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THE DECLINE AND FALL

the renowned Emir of the tribe of Gassan (50), incessantly hovered round the army; every straggler was intercepted; every detachment was attacked; and the valiant Hormisdas efcaped with some difficulty from their hands, But the Barbarians were finally repulsed: the country became every day less favourable to the operations of cavalry; and when the Romans arrived at Macepracta, they perceived the ruins of the wall, which had been constructed by the ancient kings of Affyria, to secure their dominions from the incursions of the Medes. These preliminaries of the expedition of Julian appear to have employed about fifteen days; and we may compute near three hundred miles from the fortress of Circesium to the wall of Macepracta (51).

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Description of Assyria The fertile province of Assyria (52), which stretched beyond the Tigris, as far as the mountains of Medir (53), extended about four hundred miles from the ancient wall of Macepracta

(50) Famosi nominis latro, says Ammianus; an high encomium for an Arab. The tribe of Gassan had settled on the edge of Syria, and reigned some time in Damascus, under a dynasty of thirty-one kings, or emirs, from the time of Pompey to that of the Khalis Omar. D'Herbelot, Bibliothéque Orientale, p. 360. Pocock, Specimen Hist. Arabicæ, p. 75—78. The name of Rodosaces does not appear in the list.

(51) See Ammianus (xxiv. 1, 2.), Libanius (Orat. Parental. c. 110

111. p. 334.), Zolimus (l. iii. p. 164-168.).

(52) The description of Assyria is surnished by Herodotus (l. i. c. 194, &c.), who sometimes writes for children, and sometimes for philosophers by Strabo (l. xvi. p. 1070—1082), and by Ammianus (l. xxiii. c. 6). The most useful of the modern travellers are Tavernier (part i. l. ii. p. 226—258.), Otter (torn. ii. p. 35—69. and 189—224.), and Niebuhr (torn. ii. p. 172—288.). Yet I much regret that the Irak Arabi of Abulfeda has not been translated.

(53) Ammianus remarks, that the primitive Assyria, which comprehended Ninus (Niniveh) and Arbela, had assumed the more recent and peculiar appellation of Adiabene: and he seems to fix Teredon, Vologesia, and Apollonia, as the extreme cities of the actual province of Assyria.

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to the territory of Basra, where the united streams of the Euphrates and Tigris discharge themselves into the Persian Gulf (54). The whole country might have claimed the peculiar name of Mesopotamia; as the two rivers, which are never more distant than fifty, approach, between Bagdad and Babylon, within twenty-five miles of each other. A multitude of artificial canals, dug without much labour in a foft and yielding foil, connected the rivers, and interfected the plain, The uses of these artificial canals of Allyria. were various and important. They ferved to discharge the superfluous waters from one river into the other, at the feason of their respective inundations. Subdividing themselves into smaller and smaller branches, they refreshed the dry lands, and supplied the deficiency of rain. They facilitated the intercourse of peace and commerce; and, as the dams could be speedily broke down, they armed the despair of the Assyrians with the means of opposing a sudden deluge to the progress of an invading army. To the soil and climate of Assyria, nature had denied some of her choicest gifts, the vine, the olive, and the fig-tree; but the food which supports the life of man, and particularly wheat and barley, were produced with inexhaustible fertility; and the husbandman, who committed his feed to the earth, was frequently rewarded with an encrease of two, or even of three, hund-The face of the country was interspersed

⁽⁵⁴⁾ The two rivers unite at Apamea, or Corna (one hundred miles from the Persian Gulf,) into the broad stream of the Pasitigris, or Shatul-Arab. The Euphrates formerly reached the sea by a separate channel, which was obstructed and diverted by the citizens of Orchoe, about twenty miles to the south-east of modern Basra (d'Anville, in the Memoires de Acad. des Inscriptions, tom. xxx. p. 170-191.).

with groves of innumerable palm-trees (55); and the diligent natives celebrated, either in verse or profe, the three hundred and fixty uses to which the trunk, the branches, the leaves, the juice, and the fruit, were skilfully applied. Several manufactures, especially those of leather and linen, employed the industry of a numerous people, and afforded valuable materials for foreign trade; which appears, however, to have been conducted by the hands of strangers. Babylon had been converted into a royal park; but near the ruins of the ancient capital, new cities had fuccessively arisen, and the populousness of the country was displayed in the multitude of towns and villages, which were built of bricks, dried in the fun, and strongly cemented with bitumen; the natural and peculiar production of the Babylonian foil. While the successors of Cyrus reigned over Asia, the province of Assyria alone maintained, during a third part of the year, the luxurious plenty of the table and household of the Great King. Four confiderable villages were affigned for the subfiftence of his Indian dogs; eight hundred stallions, and fixteen thousand mares, were constantly kept, at the expence of the country, for the royal stables: and as the daily tribute, which was paid to the fatrap, amounted to one English bushel of filver, we may compute the annual revenue of Affyria at more than twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling (56).

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⁽⁵⁵⁾ The learned Kæmpfer, as a botanist, an antiquary, and a traveller, has exhausted (Amænitat Exoticæ, Fascieul. iv. p. 660—764.) the whole subject of palm-trees.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ Affyria yielded to the Persian satrap, an Artaba of silver each day. The well-known proportion of weights and measures (see Bishop Hooper's elaborate

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The fields of Affyria were devoted by Julian Invation of to the calamities of war; and the philosopher Affyria. retaliated on a guiltless people the acts of rapine A. D. 363. and cruelty, which had been committed by their haughty master in the Roman provinces. rembling Affyrians summoned the rivers to their assistance; and completed, with their own hands, The roads were renthe ruin of their country. dered impracticable; a flood of waters was poured into the camp; and, during feveral days, the troops of Julian were obliged to contend with the most discouraging hardships. But every obstacle was furmounted by the perseverance of the legionaries, who were inured to toil as well as to danger, and who felt themselves animated by the spirit of their leader. The damage was gradually repaired; the waters reflored to their proper channels; whole groves of palm-trees were cut down, and placed along the broken parts of the road; and the army passed over the broad and deeper canals, on bridges of floating rafts which were supported by the help of bladders. Two cities of Affyria prefumed to refift the arms of a Roman emperor: and they both paid the severe penalty of their rashness. At the distance of fifty milessiege of from the royal residence of Ctesiphon, Perisabor, Perisabor, or Anbar, held the fecond rank in the province: a city, large, populous, and well fortified, furrounded

caborate Inquiry), the specific gravity of water and silver, and the value of that metal, will afford, after a short process, the annual revenue which have stated. Yet the Great King received no more than 1000 Euboic, or Tyrian, talents (252,000l.) from Assyria. The comparison of two passes in Herodotus (l. i. c. 192. l. iii. c. 89—96.) reveals an important difference between the gross, and the net, revenue of Persa; the sums paid by the province, and the gold or silver deposited in the royal treasure. The monarch might annually save three millions six hundred thousand pounds, of the seventeen or eighteen millions raised upon the people.

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rounded with a double wall, almost encompassed by a branch of the Euphrates, and defended by the valour of a numerous garrison. The exhortations of Hormisdas were repulsed with contempt; and the ears of the Persian prince were wounded by a just reproach, that, unmindful of his royal birth, he conducted an army of strangers against his king and country. The Affyrians maintained their loyalty by a skilful, as well as vigorous, defence; till the lucky stroke of a battering-ram, having opened a large breach, by shattering one of the angles of the wall, they hastily retired into the fortifications of the interior citadel. The foldiers of Julian rushed impetuously into the town, and, after the full gratification of every military appetite, Perifabor was reduced to athes; and the engines which affaulted the citadel were planted on the ruins of the fmoking houses. The contest was continued by an incessant and mutual discharge of missile weapons; and the superiority which the Romans might derive from the mechanical powers of their baliftæ and catapultæ was counterbalanced by the advantage of the ground on the fide of the belieged. But as foon as an Helepolis had been constructed, which could engage on equal terms with the loftiest ramparts; the tremendous aspect of a moving turret, that would leave no hope of relistance or of mercy, terrified the defenders of the citadel into an humble fubmission; and the place was surrendered only two days after Julian first appeared under the walls of Perifabor. Two thousand five hundred persons, of both sexes, the feeble remnant of a flourishing people, were permitted to retire; the plentiful magazines of corn, of arms, and of iplendid furniture, were partly diltributed tributed among the troops, and partly referved for the public tervice: the useless stores were destroyed by fire, or thrown into the stream of the Euphrates; and the fate of Amida was revenged

by the total ruin of Perisabor.

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The city, or rather fortress, of Maogamalcha, of Maogawhich was defended by fixteen large towers, a malcha. deep ditch, and two strong and solid walls of brick and bitumen, appears to have been constructed at the distance of eleven miles, as the safeguard of the capital of Persia. The emperor, apprehensive of leaving such an important fortress in his rear, immediately formed the siege of Maogamalcha; and the Roman army was distributed, for that purpose, into three divisions. Victor, at the head of the cavalry, and a detachment of heavy-armed foot, was ordered to clear the country, as far as the banks of the Tigris, and the suburbs of Ctesiphon. The conduct of the attack was affumed by Julian himelf, who feemed to place his whole dependence in the military engines which he erected against the walls; while he fecretly contrived a more efficacious method of introducing his troops into the heart of the city. Under the direction of Nevitta and Dagalaiphus, the trenches were opened at a confiderable distance, and gradually prolonged as far as the edge of the ditch. ditch was speedily filled with earth; and, by the incessant labour of the troops, a mine was carsied under the foundations of the walls, and suffained, at sufficient intervals, by props of timber. Three chosen cohorts, advancing in a fingle file, filently explored the dark and dangerous passage; till their intrepid leader whispered back the intelligence, that he was ready to iffue from his confinement into the streets of the hofcity. Julian checked their ardour, that he might enfure their fuccess; and immediately diverted the attention of the garrison, by the tumult and clamour of a general assault. The Persians, who, from their walls, contemptuously beheld the progress of an impotent attack, celebrated, with fongs of triumph, the glory of Sapor; and ventured to affure the emperor, that he might afcend the stary mansion of Ormusd, before he could hope to take the impregnable city of Maogamalcha. The city was already taken. History has recorded the name of a private foldier, the first who ascended from the mine into a deferted tower. The passage was widened by his companions, who pressed forwards with impatient valour. Fifteen hundred enemies were already in the midst of the city. The astonished garrison abandoned the walls, and their only hope of fafety; the gates were instantly burit open; and the revenge of the foldier, unless it were fuspended by lust or avarice, was satiated by an undiffinguished massacre. The governor, who had yielded on a promife of mercy, was burnt alive, a few days afterwards, on a charge of having uttered some difrespectful words against the honour of Prince Hormisdas. The fortifications were razed to the ground; and not a veitige was left, that the city of Maogamalcha had ever existed. The neighbourhood of the capital of Persia was adorned with three stately palaces, laboriously enriched with every production that could gratify the luxury and pride of an Eastern monarch. The pleasant situation of the gardens along the banks of the Tigris, was improved, according to the Persian taste, by the symmetry of flowers, fountains, and shady walks: and spacious parks were inclosed for the reception of

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the bears, lions, and wild boars, which were maintained at a confiderable expence for the pleasure of the royal chace. The park-walls were broke down, the savage game was abandoned to the darts of the foldiers, and the palaces of Sapor were reduced to ashes, by the command of the Roman emperor. Julian, on this occasion, shewed himself ignorant, or careless, of the laws of civility, which the prudence and refinement of polished ages have established between hostile princes. Yet these wanton ravages need not excite in our breasts any vehement emotions of pity or resentment. A limple, naked, statue, finished by the hand of a Grecian artift, is of more genuine value than all these nude and costly monuments of Barbaric labour: and, if we are more deeply affected by the ruin of a palace, than by the conflagration of a cottage, our humanity must have formed a very erroneous estimate of the miseries of human life (57).

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Julian was an object of terror and hatred to Personal bethe Persians: and the painters of that nation represented the invader of their country under the
emblem of a furious lion, who vomited from his
mouth a consuming fire (58). To his friends
and soldiers, the philosophic hero appeared in a
more amiable light; and his virtues were never
more conspicuously displayed, than in the last,
and most active, period of his life. He practiled, without effort, and almost without merit,

⁽³⁷⁾ The operations of the Assyrian war are circumstantially related Ammianus (xxiv. 2, 3, 4, 5.), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 112—123. 135—347.), Zosimus (l. iii. p. 168—180.), and Gregory Nazianzen Orat. iv. p. 113, 144.). The military criticisms of the faint are devoutly and by Tillemont, his faithful slave.

⁽⁵⁸⁾ Libanius de ulciscenda Juliani nece, c. 13. p 162.

Roman. "Riches are the object of your de-" fires? those riches are in the hands of the Per. " fians; and the spoils of this fruitful country " are proposed as the prize of your valour and "discipline. Believe me," added Julian, "the "Roman republic, which formerly possessed such " immense treasures, is now reduced to want " and wretchedness; since our princes have been " persuaded, by weak and interested ministers, "to purchase with gold the tranquility of the "Barbarians. The revenue is exhaufted; the " cities are ruined; the provinces are dispeopled, " For myself, the only inheritance that I have " received from my royal ancestors, is a soul in-" capable of fear; and as long as I am convinc-" ed that every real advantage is feated in the " mind, I shall not blush to acknowledge an ho-" nourable poverty, which, in the days of an-"cient virtue, was considered as the glory of "Fabricius. That glory, and that virtue, may " be your own, if you will liften to the voice of "Heaven, and of your leader. But if you will " rashly persist, if you are determined to renew the shameful and mischievous examples of old " feditions, proceed—As it becomes an emperor " who has filled the first rank among men, I am " prepared to die, standing; and to despise a precarious life, which, every hour, may depend " on an accidental fever. If I have been found "unworthy of the command, there are now "among you (I speak it with pride and plea-" fure), there are many chiefs, whose merit and "experience are equal to the conduct of the most "important war. Such has been the temper of "my reign, that I can retire, without regret, " and without apprehension, to the obscurity of " a private of J and dec foug The fam oath " ur fu love but " Mao " W for T

over the g even at a the e know of his miles bank observable.

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Seleucia, Valle (tom spectator of intolerably "a private station (63)." The modest resolution of Julian was answered by the unanimous applause and cheerful obedience of the Romans; who declared their confidence of victory, while they sought under the banners of their heroic prince. Their courage was kindled by his frequent and samiliar affeverations (for such wishes were the oaths of Julian), "So may I reduce the Persians "under the yoke!" "Thus may I restore the "strength and splendour of the republic!" The love of same was the ardent passion of his soul: but it was not before he trampled on the ruins of Maogamalcha, that he allowed himself to say, "We have now provided some materials for the "sophist of Antioch (64)."

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The fuccessful valour of Julian had triumphed He transover all the obstacles that opposed his march to ports his
the gates of Ctesiphon. But the reduction, or the Euphreeven the siege, of the capital of Persia, was still test to the
at a distance: nor can the military conduct of
the emperor be clearly apprehended; without a
knowledge of the country which was the theatre
of his bold and skilful operations (65). Twenty

miles to the fouth of Bagdad, and on the eastern bank of the Tigris, the curiofity of travellers has observed some ruins of the palaces of Ctesiphon, which, in the time of Julian, was a great and populous city. The name and glory of the ad-

jacent

(63) I give this speech as original and genuine. Ammianus might bear, could transcribe, and was incapable of inventing, it. I have used one slight freedoms, and conclude with the most forcible sentence.

⁽⁶⁴⁾ Ammian. xxiv. 3. Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 122. p. 346.
(65) M. d'Anville (Mem. de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. xxviii.
246-259) has ascertained the true position and distance of Babylon, seleucia, Ctesiphon, Bagdad, &c. The Roman traveller, Pietro della Valle (tom. i. lett. xvii. p. 650-780), seems to be the most intélligent pectator of that famous province. He is a gentleman and a scholar, but atolerably vain and prolix.

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jacent Seleucia were for ever extinguished; and the only remaining quarter of that Greek colony had refumed, with the Affyrian language and manners, the primitive appellation of Coche Coche was situate on the western side of the Tigris: but it was naturally confidered as a fuburb of Ctefiphon, with which we may suppose it to have been connected by a permanent bridge of boats. The united parts contributed to form the common epithet of Al Modain, THE CITIES, which the Orientals have bestowed on the winter residence of the Sassanides; and the whole cir. cumference of the Persian capital was strongly fortified by the waters of the river, by lofty walls, and by impracticable moraffes. Near the ruins of Seleucia, the camp of Julian was fixed; and fecured, by a ditch and rampart, against the fallies of the numerous and enterprifing garrifon of Coche. In this fruitful and pleasant country, the Romans were plentifully supplied with water and forage: and feveral forts, which might have embarraffed the motions of the army, submitted, after some relistance, to the efforts of their valour. The fleet passed from the Euphrates into an artificial deviation of that river, which pours a copious and navigable stream into the Tigris, at a small distance below the great city. If they had followed this royal canal, which bore the name of Nahar-malcha (66), the intermediate fituation of Coche would have separated the fleet and army of Julian; and the rash attempt of fleering against the current of the Tigris, and forcing

⁽⁶⁶⁾ The Royal Canal (Nahar Malcha) might be successively restored, altered, divided, &c. (Cellarius, Geograph. Antiq. tom. ii. p. 453): and these changes may serve to explain the seeming contradictions of antiquity. In the time of Julian, is must have fallen into the Euphrates &c. low Ctesiphon.

forcing their way through the midst of a hostile capital, mult have been attended with the total destruction of the Roman navy. The prudence of the emperor foresaw the danger, and provided the remedy. As he had minutely studied the operations of Trajan in the same country, he foon recollected, that his warlike predeceffor had dug a new and navigable canal, which, leaving Coche on the right-hand, conveyed the waters of the Nahar-Malcha into the river Tigris, at some distance above the cities. From the information of the pealants, Julian ascertained the veltiges of this ancient work, which were almost obliterated by delign or accident. By the indefatigable labour of the foldiers, a broad and deep channel was speedily prepared for the reception of the Euphrates. A strong dike was constructed to interrupt the ordinary current of the Nahar Malcha: a flood of waters rushed impetuously into their new bed; and the Roman fleet, steering their triumphant course into the Tigris, derided the vain and ineffectual barriers which the Persians of Ctesiphon had crected to oppose their passage.

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As it became necessary to transport the Roman Passage of army over the Tigris, another labour presented the Tigris, itself, of less toil, but of more danger, than the of the Ropreceding expedition. The stream was broad mans, and rapid; the ascent deep and difficult; and the intrenchments which had been formed on the ridge of the opposite bank, were lined with a numerous army of heavy cuirassiers, dexterous archers, and huge elephants; who (according to the extravagant hyperbole of Libanius) could trample, with the same ease, a field of corn, or Vol. IV.

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a legion of Romans (67). In the presence of fuch an enemy, the construction of a bridge was impracticable; and the intrepid prince, who instantly seized the only possible expedient, concealed his defign, till the moment of execution, from the knowledge of the Barbarians, of his own troops, and even of his generals themselves. Under the specious pretence of examining the state of the magazines, fourfcore vessels were gradually unladen; and a felect detachment, apparently deftined for some secret expedition, was ordered to fland to their arms on the fift fignal. Julian difguifed the filent anxiety of his own mind with smiles of confidence and joy; and amused the hostile nations with the spectacle of military games, which he infultingly celebrated under the walls of Coche. The day was confecrated to pleasure; but, as soon as the hour of supper was past, the emperor summoned the generals to his tent, and acquainted them, that he had fixed that night for the pallage of the Tigris. They food in filent and respectful aftonishment; but, when the venerable Sallust assumed the privilege of his age and experience, the rest of the chiefs supported with freedom the weight of his prudent remonstrances (68). Julian contented himself with observing, that conquest and safety depended on the attempt; that, instead of diminishing, the number of their enemies would be increased, by successive reinforcements;

(67) Και μεγεθεσιν ελεφαντων, οις ισον εργον δια ταχυωη, ελθειν και φαλαγγος. Rien n'est beau que le vrai ; a maxim which should be inscribed on the desk of every rhetorician.

⁽⁶⁸⁾ Libanius alludes to the most powerful of the generals. I have ventured to name Sallust. Ammianus says, of all the leaders, quòd acri metû territi duces concordi precatû fieri prohibere tentarent.

ments; and that a longer delay would neither contract the breadth of the stream, nor level the height of the bank. The fignal was inflantly given, and obeyed: the most impatient of the legionaries leaped into five vessels that lay nearest to the bank; and, as they plied their oars with intrepid diligence, they were loft, after a few moments, in the darkness of the night. A flame arole on the oppolite fide; and Julian, who too clearly understood that his foremost vessels, in attempting to land, had been fired by the enemy, dexterously converted their extreme danger into a presage of victory. "Our fellow-foldiers," he eagerly exclaimed, " are already masters of " the bank; fee—they make the appointed fig-" nal: let us haften to emulate and affift their " courage." The united and rapid motion of a great fleet broke the violence of the current, and they reached the eastern shore of the Tigris with sufficient speed to extinguish the flames, and refcue their adventurous companions. The difficulties of a steep and lofty ascent were increased by the weight of armour, and the darkness of the night. A shower of stones, darts, and fire, was incessantly discharged on the heads of the illailants; who, after an arduous struggle, climbed the bank, and stood victorious upon the ampart. As foon as they possessed a more equal held, Julian, who, with his light-infantry, had ed the attack (69), darted through the ranks a kilful and experienced eye: his bravest soldiers, ccording to the precepts of Homer (70), were M 2 distributed

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(69) Hinc Imperator . . . (says Ammianus) ipse cum levis armatura uxilius per prima postremaque discurrens, &c. Yet Zosimus, his friend, oes not allow him to pass the river till two days after the battle.

⁽⁷⁰⁾ Secundum Homericam dispositionem. A similar disposition is asbribed to the wise Nestor, in the fourth book of the Iliad: and Homer as never absent from the mind of Julian.

distributed in the front and rear; and all the trumpets of the Imperial army founded to battle The Romans, after fending up a military shout, advanced in measured steps to the animating notes of martial mulic; launched their formidable ia. velins; and rushed forwards with drawn swords, to deprive the Barbarians, by a closer onset, of the advantage of their missile weapons. whole engagement lasted above twelve hours; till the gradual retreat of the Persians was changed into a disorderly flight, of which the shameful example was given by the principal leaders, and the Surenas himself. They were pursued to the gates of Cteliphon; and the conquerors might have entered the dismayed city (71), if their general Victor, who was dangerously wounded with an arrow, had not conjured them to defift from a rash attempt, which must be fatal, if it were not successful. On their side, the Romans acknowledged the loss of only seventy-five men; while they affirmed, that the Barbarians had left on the field of battle two thousand five hundred, or even fix thousand, of their bravest foldiers. The spoil was such as might be expected from the riches and luxury of an Oriental camp; large quantities of filver and gold, splendid arms and trappings, and beds and tables of maffy filver The victorious emperor distributed, as the rewards of valour, some honourable gifts, civic, and mural, and naval, crowns; which he, and perhaps he alone, esteemed more precious than the wealth of Asia. A solemn facrifice was of fered ferenthe even bigu term

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⁽⁷¹⁾ Persas terrore subito miscuerunt, versisque agminibus totis gentis, apertas Ctesiphontis portas victor miles intrasset, ni major pradirum occasio suisset, quam cura victoriæ (Sextus. Rusus de Provinciis, s. 28.). Their avarice might dispose them to hear the advice of Victor.

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fered to the god of war, but the appearances of the victims threatened the most inauspicious events; and Julian soon discovered, by less ambiguous signs, that he had now reached the

term of his prosperity (72).

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On the second day after the battle, the domes-situation tic guards, the Jovians and Herculians, and the and obstinacy remaining troops, which composed near two fulian, remaining troops, which composed near two-A.D. 363. thirds of the whole army, were fecurely wafted over the Tigris (73). While the Persians beheld from the walls of Cteliphon the defolation of the adjacent country, Julian cast many an anxious look towards the North, in full expectation, that as he himself had victoriously penetrated to the capital of Sapor, the march and junction of his lieutenants, Sebastian and Procopius, would be executed with the same courage and diligence. His expectations were disappointed by the treathery of the Armenian king, who permitted, and most propably directed, the desertion of his auxiliary troops from the camp of the Romans (74); and by the diffentions of the two generals, who were incapable of forming or executing any plan for the public fervice. When the emperor

(72) The labour of the canal, the passage of the Tigris, and the victory, are described by Ammianus (xxiv. 5, 6.), Libanius (Orat. Parent. 124—128. p. 347—353.), Greg. Nazianzen (Orat. iv. p. 115.), Losimus (l. iii. p. 181—183.), and Sextus Rusus (de Provinciis, c. 28.).
(73) The fleet and army were formed in three divisions, of which the solve had passed during the night (Ammian. xxiv. 6.). The tagged of the passed of the protectors, among whom the historian Ammianus, and the suture emperor Jovian, actually served; some schools of the domestics, and perhaps the Jovians and Herculians, who often did

(74) Moses of Chorene (Hist. Armen. l. iii. c. 15, p. 246.) supplies us the anational tradition, and a spurious letter. I have borrowed only releading circumstance, which is consistent with truth, probability, and

banius (Orat. Parent. c. 131. p. 355.).

emperor had relinquished the hope of this important reinforcement, he condescended to hold a council of war, and approved, after a full debate, the fentiment of those generals, who diffuaded the fiege of Cteliphon, as a fruitless and pernicious undertaking. It is not easy for us to conceive, by what arts of fortification, a city thrice befieged and taken by the predecessors of Julian, could be rendered impregnable against an army of fixty thousand Romans, commanded by a brave and experienced general, and abundantly supplied with ships, provisions, battering engines, and military flores. But we may rest affered, from the love of glory, and contempt of danger, which formed the character of Julian, that he was not discouraged by any trivial or imaginary obstacles (75). At the very time when he declined the fiege of Ctefiphon, he rejected, with obstinacy and disdain, the most flattering offersof a negotiation of peace. Sapor, who had been for long accustomed to the tardy oftentation of Constantius, was surprised by the intrepid diligence of his fuccesfor. As far as the confines of India and Scythia, the fatraps of the distant provinces were ordered to assemble their troops, and to march, without delay, to the affiftance of their monarch. But their preparations were dilatory, their motions flow; and before Sapor could lead an army into the field, he received the melancholy intelligence of the devastation of Assyria, the ruin of his palaces, and the flaughter of his

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⁽⁷⁵⁾ Civitas inexpungabilis, facinus audax et importunum. Ammianus, xxiv. 7. His fellow-foldier, Eutropius, turns afide from the difficulty, Affyriamque populatus. castia apud Ctefiphontem stativa aliquandia habuit: remeansque victor, &c. x. 16. Zosimus is artful or ignorant and Socrates inaccurate.

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bravest troops, who defended the passage of the Tigris. The pride of royalty was humbled in the dust; he took his repasts on the ground; and the disorder of his hair expressed the grief and anxiety of his mind. Perhaps he would not have refused to purchase, with one half of his kingdom, the fafety of the remainder; and he would have gladly subscribed himself, in a treaty of peace, the faithful and dependent ally of the Roman conqueror. Under the pretence of private buliness, a minister of rank and confidence was fecretly dispatched to embrace the knees of Hormisdas, and to request, in the language of a suppliant, that he might be introduced into the presence of the emperor. The Sassanian prince, whether he liftened to the voice of pride or humanity, whether he consulted the sentiments of his birth, or the duties of his fituation, was equally inclined to promote a falutary measure, which would terminate the calamities of Persia, and secure the triumph of Rome. He was aftonished by the inflexible firmness of a hero, who remembered, most unfortunately for himself, and for his country, that Alexander had uniformly rejected the propositions of Darius. But as Julian was lenfible, that the hope of a fafe and honourable peace might cool the ardour of his troops; he earnestly requested, that Hormisdas would privately dismiss the minister of Sapor, and conceal this dangerous temptation from the knowledge of the camp (76).

The honour, as well as interest, of Julian, He burns his forbade him to consume his time under the impregnable

⁽⁷⁶⁾ Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 130, p. 354. c. 139. p. 361. Socrates, l. iii. c. 21. The ecclefiastical historian imputes the resulal of peace to the advice of Maximus. Such advice was unworthy of a philosopher; but the philosopher was likewise a magician, who stattered the hopes and passions of his master.

pregnable walls of Cteliphon; and as often as he defied the Barbarians, who defended the city, to meet him on the open plain, they prudently replied, that if he defired to exercise his valour, he might feek the army of the Great King. He felt the infult, and he accepted the advice. Instead of confining his fervile march to the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, he resolved to imitate the adventurous spirit of Alexander, and boldly to advance into the inland provinces, till he forced his rival to contend with him, perhaps in the plains of Arbela, for the empire of Asia. magnanimity of Julian was applauded and betrayed, by the arts of a noble Persian, who, in the cause of his country, had generously submitted to act a part full of danger, of falfehood, and of shame (77). With a train of faithful followers, he deferted to the Imperial camp; expoled, in a specious tale, the injuries which he had suftained; exaggerated the cruelty of Sapor, the discontent of the people, and the weakness of the monarchy, and confidently offered himself as the hostage and guide of the Roman march. The most rational grounds of suspicion were urged, without effect, by the wildom and experience of Hormisdas; and the credulous Julian, receiving the traitor into his bosom, was perfuaded to iffue an hafty order, which, in the opinion of mankind, appeared to arraign his prudence, and to endanger his fafety. He destroyed, in a fingle hour, the whole navy, which had

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⁽⁷⁷⁾ The arts of this new Zopyrus (Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iv. p. 315, 116.) may derive fome credit from the testimony of two abbreviators (Sextus Rusus and Victor), and the casual hints of Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 134. p. 357.) and Ammianus (xxiv. 7.). The course of genuine history is interrupted by a most unseasonable chasm in the text of Ammianus.

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had been transported above five hundred miles, at so great an expence of toil, of treasure, and of blood. Twelve, or, at the most, twenty-two. small vessels were faved, to accompany, on carriages, the march of the army, and to form occasional bridges for the passage of the rivers. fupply of twenty days provisions was referred for the use of the soldiers; and the rest of the magazines, with a fleet of eleven hundred veffels, which rode at anchor in the Tigris, were abandoned to the flames, by the absolute command of the emperor. The Christian bishops, Gregory and Augustin, insult the madness of the apostate, who executed, with his own hands, the sentence of divine justice. Their authority, of less weight, perhaps, in a military question, is confirmed by the cool judgment of an experienced foldier, who was himself spectator of the conflagration, and who could not disapprove the reluctant murmurs of the troops (78). Yet there are not wanting iome specious, and perhaps solid, reasons, which which might justify the resolution of Julian. The navigation of the Euphrates never ascended above Babylon, nor that of the Tigris above The distance of the last-mentioned city from the Roman camp was not very confiderable; and Julian must soon have renounced the vain and impracticable attempt of forcing upwards a great fleet against the stream of a rapid

⁽⁷⁸⁾ See Ammianus (xxiv. 7.), Libanius (Orat. Patentalis, c. 132, 133. p. 356, 357.), Zosimus (l. iii. p. 183.), Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 26.), Gregory (Orat. iv. p. 116.), Augustin (de Civitate Dei, l. iv. c. 29. l. v. c. 21.). Of these, Libanius alone attempts a faint apology for his hero; who, according to Ammianus, pronounced his own condemnation, by a tardy and inessecual attempt to extinguish the slames.

⁽⁷⁹⁾ Consult Heredotus (l. i. c. 194.), Strabo (l. xvi. p. 1074.), and Tavernier (p. i. l. ii. p. 152.).

river (80), which in feveral places was embaraffed by natural or artificial cataracts (81). The power of fails and oars was infufficient; it became necessary to tow the ships against the current of the river; the strength of twenty thousand soldiers was exhausted in this tedious and servile labour; and if the Romans continued to march along the banks of the Tigris, they could only expect to return home without atchieving any enterprize worthy of the genius or fortune of their leader. If, on the contrary, it was adviseable to advance into the inland country, the destruction of the fleet and magazines was the only measure which could fave that valuable prize from the hands of the numerous and active troops which might suddenly be poured from the gates of Ctefiphon. Had the arms of Julian been victorious, we should now admire the conduct, as well as the courage, of a hero, who, by depriving his foldiers of the hopes of a retreat, left them only the alternative of death or conquest (82).

and marches against Sapor.

The cumbersome train of artillery and waggons, which retards the operations of a modern army, were in a great measure unknown in the camps of the Romans (83). Yet, in every age,

(80) A celeritate Tigris incipit vocari, ita appellant Medi sagittam. Plin. Hist. Natur. vi. 31.

(81) One of these dykes, which produces an artificial cascade or calararact, is described by Tavernier (part. i. l. ii. p. 226.) and Thevenot (part. ii. l. i. p. 193.). The Persians, or Assyrians. laboured to interrupt the navigation of the river (Strabo, l. xv. p. 1073. D'Anville, l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 98, 99.).

(82) Recoilect the successful and applauded rashness of Agathocles and Cortez, who burnt their ships on the coast of Africa and Mexico.

(83) See the judicious reflections of the author of the Essai sur la Tactique, tom. ii. p. 287.—353. and the learned remarks of M. Guichardt, Nouveaux Memoires Militaires, tom. i. p. 351—382. on the bag gage and subsistence of the Roman armies.

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the fubfiftence of fixty thousand men must have been one of the most important cares of a prudent general; and that sublistence could only be drawn from his own or from the' enemy's country. Had it been possible for Julian to maintain a bridge of communication on the Tigris, and to preserve the conquered places of Assyria, a a defolated province could not afford any large or regular supplies, in a season of the year when the lands were covered by the inundation of the Euphrates (84), and the unwholfome air was darkened with swarms of innumerable insects (85). The appearance of the hostile country was far The extensive region that lies more inviting. between the river Tigris and the mountains of Media, was filled with villages and towns; and the fertile soil, for the most part, was in a very improved state of cultivation. Julian might expect, that a conqueror, who possessed the two forcible instruments of persuasion, seel and gold, would early procure a plentiful fublistence from the fears or avarice of the natives. on the approach of the Romans, this rich and fmiling prospect was instantly blasted. Wherever they moved, the inhabitants deferted the open villages, and took shelter in the fortified towns; the cattle was driven away; the grass and ripe corn

⁽⁸⁴⁾ The Tigris rifes to the fouth, the Euphrates to the north, of the Armenian mountains. The former overflows in March, the latter in July. These circumstances are well explained in the Geographical Differtation of Foster, inserted in Spelman's Expedition of Cyrus, vol. ii. p. 26.

⁽⁸⁵⁾ Ammianus (xxiv. 8.) describes, as he had felt, the inconveniency of the flood, the heat, and the insects. The lands of Assyria, oppressed by the Turks, and ravaged by the Curds, or Arabs, yield an increase of ten, sifteen, and twenty fold, for the seed which is cast into the ground by the wretched and unskilful husbandman. Voyages de Niebuhr, tomin p. 279. 285.

corn were confumed with fire; and, as foon as the flames had subsided which interrupted the march of Julian, he beheld the melancholy face of a smoking and naked defert. This desperate but effectual method of defence, can only be executed by the enthulialm of a people who prefer their independence to their property; or by the rigour of an arbitrary government, which consults the public safety without submitting to their inclinations the liberty of choice. On the present occasion, the zeal and obedience of the Persians seconded the commands of Sapor; and the emperor was foon reduced to the fcanty flock of provisions, which continually wasted in his hands. Before they were entirely confumed, he might still have reached the wealthy and unwarlike cities of Ecbatana, or Susa, by the effort of a rapid and well-directed march (86); but he was deprived of this last resource by his ignorance of the roads, and by the perfidy of his guides. The Romans wandered several days in the country to the eastward of Bagdad: the Persian deserter, who had artfully led them into the fnare, escaped from their resentment; and his followers, as foon as they were put to the torture, confessed the secret of the conspiracy. The visionary conquests of Hyrcania and India, which had so long amused, now tormented, the mind of Julian. Conscious that his own imprudence was the cause of the public distress, he anxiously balanced the hopes of fafety or fuccess, without obtaining a fatisfactory answer either

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^(\$6) Isidore of Charax (Mansion. Parthic. p. 5, 6. in Hudson, Geograph. Minor, tom. ii.) reckons 129 schæni from Selucia, and Thevenot (part. i. l. ii. p. 209—245.), 128 hours of march from Bagdad to Echatana, or Hamadan. These measures cannot exceed an ordinary parasang, or three Roman miles.

from gods or men. At length, as the only practicable measure, he embraced the resolution of directing his steps towards the banks of the Tigris, with the design of saving the army by a hasty march to the confines of Corduene; a fertile and friendly province, which acknowledged the sovereignty of Rome. The desponding troops obeyed the signal of the retreat, only seventy days after they had passed the Chaboras, June 16.

throne of Persia (87).

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As long as the Romans feemed to advance into Retreat and the country, their march was observed and in-diffress of the Roman fulted from a distance, by several bodies of Per-army. fian cavalry; who shewing themselves, sometimes in loofe; and fometimes in closer, order; faintly skirmished with the advanced guards. These detachments were, however, supported by a much greater force; and the heads of the columns were no sooner pointed towards the Tigris, than a cloud of dust arose on the plain. Romans, who now aspired only to the permission of a late and speedy retreat; endeavoured to persuade themselves, that this formidable appearance was occasioned by a troop of wild affes, or perhaps by the approach of some friendly Arabs. They halted, pitched their tents, fortified their camp, palled the whole night in continual alarms; and discovered, at the dawn of day, that they were furrounded by an army of Persians. This army, which might be confidered only as the van of the Barbarians, was foon followed by

⁽⁸⁷⁾ The march of Julian from Ctefiphon, is circumstantially, but not clearly, described by Ammianus (xxiv. 7, 8.), Libanius (Orat. Parent, c. 134. p. 357.), and Zosimus (l. iii. p. 183). The two last seem ignorant that their conqueror was retreating; and Libanius absurdly confines him to the banks of the Tigris.

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the main body of cuiraffiers, archers, and elephants, commanded by Meranes, a general of rank and reputation. He was accompanied by two of the king's fons, and many of the principal fatraps; and fame and expectation exagge. rated the strength of the remaining powers, which flowly advanced under the conduct of Sapor himself. As the Romans continued their march. their long array, which was forced to bend or divide, according to the varieties of the ground. afforded frequent and favourable opportunities to their vigilant enemies. The Persians repeatedly charged with fury; they were repeatedly repulled with firmness; and the action at Maronga, which almost deserved the name of a battle, was marked by a confiderable loss of satraps and elephants, perhaps of equal value in the eyes of their monarch. These splendid advantages were not obtained without an adequate flaughter on the fide of the Romans: several officers of diflinction were either killed or wounded; and the emperor himself, who, on all occasions of danger, inspired and guided the valour of his troops, was obliged to expose his person, and exert his abilities. The weight of offensive and defensive arms, which still constituted the strength and safety of the Romans, disabled them from making any long or effectual pursuit; and as the horsemen of the East were trained to dart their javelins, and shoot their arrows, at full speed, and in every possible direction (88), the cavalry of Persia was never more formidable than in the moment of a rapid and disorderly flight.

⁽⁸⁸⁾ Chardin, the most judicious of modern travellers, describes (com. iii. p. 57, 58, &c. edit. in 410.) the education and dexterity of the Persian horsemen. Brissonius (de Regno Persico, p. 650. 661, &c.) has collected the testimonies of antiquity.

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hight. But the most certain and irreparable loss of the Romans, was that of time. The hardy veterans, accultomed to the cold climate of Gaul and Germany, fainted under the fultry heat of an Affyrian fummer; their vigour was exhaulted by the incellant repetition of march and combat; and the progress of the army was suspended by the precautions of a flow and dangerous retreat; in the presence of an active enemy: Every day, every hour, as the supply diminished, the value and price of sublistence increased in the Roman camp (89). Julian, who always contented himself with such food as a hungry foldier would have disdained, distributed, for the use of the troops, the provisions of the Imperial household, and whatever could be spared from the sumpter-horses of the tribunes and generals. But this feeble relief ferved only to aggravate the fense of the public distress; and the Romans began to entertain the most gloomy apprehentions, that before they could reach the frontiers of the empire, they should all perish, either by famine, or by the fword of the Barbarians (90).

While Julian struggled with the almost infu-Julian is perable difficulties of his situation, the silent mortally hours of the night were still devoted to study and contemplation. Whenever he closed his eyes in short and interrupted slumbers, his mind was

agitated

⁽⁸⁹⁾ In Mark Antony's retreat, an attic chænix fold for fifty drachmæ, or, in other words, a pound of flour for twelve or fourteen shillings: barley-bread was fold for its weight in silver. It is impossible to peruse the interesting narrative of Plutarch (tom. v. p. 102—116.), without perceiving that Mark Antony and Julian were pursued by the same enemies, and involved in the same distress.

⁽⁹⁰⁾ Ammian. xxiv. 8. xxv. 1. Zosimus, l. iii. p. 184, 185, 186. Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 134, 135. p. 357, 358, 359. The sophist of Antioch appears ignorant that the troops were hungry.

agitated with painful anxiety; nor can it be thought surprising, that the Genius of the empire should once more appear before him, covering with a funeral veil, his head, and his horn of abundance, and flowly retiring from the Imperial The monarch started from his couch, and stepping forth, to refresh his wearied spirits with the coolness of the midnight air, he beheld a fiery meteor, which shot athwart the sky, and fuddenly vanished. Julian was convinced that he had feen the menacing countenance of the god of war (91); the council which he fummoned, of Tuscan Haruspices (92), unanimously pronounced that he should abstain from action; but on this occasion, necessity and reason were more prevalent than superstition; and the trumpets founded at the break of day. The army marched through a hilly country; and the hills had been fecretly occupied by the Persians. Julian led the van, with the skill and attention of a confummate general; he was alarmed by the intelligence that his rear was fuddenly attacked. The heat of the weather had tempted him to lay alide his cuirass; but he snatched a shield from one of his attendants, and haftened, with a fufincient reinforcement, to the relief of the rearguard. A fimilar danger recalled the intrepid prince

(91) Ammian. xxv. 2. Julian had fworn in a passion, nunquam se Marti sacra facturum (xxiv. 6.). Such whimsical quarrels were not uncommon between the gods and their insolent votaries; and even the prudent Augustus, after his fleet had been twice shipwrecked, excluded Neptune from the honours of public processions. See Hume's philosophical Resections. Essays, vol. ii. p. 418.

(92) They still retained the monopoly of the vain, but lucrative, science, which had been invented in Hetruria, and professed to derive their knowledge of signs and omens, from the ancient books of Tar-

quitius, a Tuscan sage.

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prince to the defence of the front; and, as he galloped between the columns, the centre of the left was attacked, and almost overpowered, by a furious charge of the Persian cavalry and elephants. This huge body was foon defeated, by the well-timed evolution of the light-infantry, who aimed their weapons, with dexterity and effect, against the backs of the horsemen, and The Barbarians fled; the legs of the elephants. and Julian, who was foremost in every danger, animated the purfuit with his voice and gestures. His trembling guards, fcattered and oppressed by the diforderly throng of friends and enemies, reminded their fearless sovereign that he was without armour; and conjured him to decline he fall of the impending ruin. As they exclaimed (93), a cloud of darts and arrows was dicharged from the flying squadrons; and a avelin, after razing the skin of his arm, transpierced the ribs, and fixed in the inferior part of Julian attempted to draw the deadly weapon from his lide; but his fingers were cut by the sharpness of the steel, and he tell senteless rom his horse. His guards flew to his relief; and the wounded emperor was gently raised from he ground, and conveyed out of the tumult of he battle into an adjacent tent. The report of he melancholy event passed from rank to rank; but the grief of the Romans inspired them with nvincible valour, and the defire of revenge. The bloody and obstinate conflict was maintaind by the two armies till they were separated by he total darkness of the night. The Perhans erived some honour from the advantage which hey obtained against the left wing, where Ana-VOL. IV. tolius,

⁽⁹³⁾ Clamabant hinc inde candidata (see the note of Valesius) quos siecerat terror, ut sugientium molem tanquam ruinam male compositiuminis declinaret. Ammian. xxv. 5.

tolius, master of the offices, was slain, and the præsect Sallust very narrowly escaped. But the event of the day was adverse to the Barbarians. They abandoned the field; their two generals, Meranes, and Nohordates (94), fifty nobles or satraps, and a multitude of their bravest soldiers: and the success of the Romans, if Julian had survived, might have been improved into a decisive

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The death of Julian, A. D. 363. June 26.

The first words that Julian uttered, after his recovery from the fainting fit, into which he had been thrown by loss of blood, were expressive of his martial spirit. He called for his horse and arms, and was impatient to rush into the battle. His remaining strength was exhausted by the painful effort; and the furgeons, who examined his wound, discovered the symptoms of approaching death. He employed the awful moments with the firm temper of a hero and a fage; the philosophers who had accompanied him in this fatal expedition, compared the tent of Julian with the prison of Socrates; and the spectators, whom duty, or friendship, or curiofity, had affembled round his couch, liftened with respectful grief to the funeral oration of their " Friends and fellowdying emperor (95). " foldiers, the feafonable period of my depar-"ture is now arrived, and I discharge, with the " cheerfulness of a ready debtor, the demands " of nature. I have learned from philosophy,

(94) Sapor himself declared to the Romans, that it was his practice, to comfort the families of his deceased satraps, by sending them, 25 2 present, the heads of the guards and officers who had not fallen by their master's side. Libanius, de nece Julian. ulcis. c. xiii. p. 163.

⁽⁹⁵⁾ The character and fituation of Julian might countenance the fulpicion, that he had previously composed the elaborate oration, which Ammianus heard, and has transcribed. The version of the Abbé de la Bleterie is faithful and elegant. I have followed him in expressing the Platonic idea of emanations, which is darkly infinuated in the original.

" how much the foul is more excellent than the " body; and that the separation of the nobler " substance, should be the subject of joy, rather " than of affliction. I have learned from religi-" on, that an early death has often been the re-" ward of piety (96); and I accept, as a favour " of the gods, the mortal stroke, that secures me " from the danger of difgracing a character, " which has hitherto been supported by virtue " and fortitude. I die without remorie, as I " have lived without guilt. I am pleased to re-" flect on the innocence of my private life; and " I can affirm with confidence, that the supreme " authority, that emanation of the Divine Pow-" er, has been preserved in my hands pure and " immaculate. Detesting the corrupt and de-" structive maxims of despotism, I have consi-" dered the happiness of the people as the end of " government. Submitting my actions to the " laws of prudence, of justice, and of moderation, I have trusted the event to the care of "Providence. Peace was the object of my " counsels, as long as peace was consistent with "the public welfare; but when the imperious " voice of my country fummoned me to arms, "I exposed my person to the dangers of war, " with the clear fore-knowledge (which I had " acquired from the art of divination) that I was " destined to fall by the sword. I now offer my " tribute of gratitude to the Eternal Being, who " has not suffered me to perish by the cruelty of " a tyrant, by the fecret dagger of conspiracy, " or by the flow tortures of lingering disease. N 2

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⁽⁹⁶⁾ Herodotus (!. i. c. 31.) has displayed that doctrine in an agreeable tale. Yet the Jupiter (in the 16th book of the Iliad), who laments with tears of blood the death of Sarpedon his son, had a very impersect solion of happiness or glory beyond the grave.

" He has given me, in the midst of an honoura. " ble career, a splendid and glorious departure " from this world; and I hold it equally abfurd, " equally base, to solicit, or to decline, the " ftroke of fate. Thus much I have at-" tempted to fay; but my strength fails me, " and I feel the approach of death.—I shall cau. "tiously refrain from any word that may tend to " influence your suffrages in the election of an " emperor. My choice might be imprudent, or " injudicious; and if it should not be ratified by " the consent of the army, it might be fatal to " the person whom I should recommend. I " Mall only, as a good citizen, express my " hopes, that the Romans may be bleffed with "the government of a virtuous fovereign." After this discourse, which Julian pronounced in a firm and gentle tone of voice, he distributed, a military testament (97), the remains of his private fortune; and making some enquiry why Anatolius was not prefent, he understood, from the answer of Sallust, the Anatolius was killed; and bewailed, with amiable inconfiftency, the loss of his friend. At the same time he reproved the immoderate grief of the spectators; and conjured them not to difgrace, by unmanly tears, the fate of a prince, who in a few moments would be united with heaven, and with the stars (98). The spectators were silent; and silent lian entered into a metaphyfical argument with

(97) The foldiers who made their verbal, or nuncupatory, testaments upon actual service (in procinctû) were exempted from the formalities of the Roman law. See Heineccius (Antiquit. Jur. Roman. tom. i. p. 504) and Montesquieu (Esprit des Loix, l. xxvii.).

(98) This union of the human foul with the divine ætherial substant of the universe, is the ancient doctrine of Pythagoras and Plato; but a feems to exclude any personal or conscious immortality. See Warburton's learned and rational observations. Divine Legation, vol. ii. p. 199-216.

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(99) T (20, 3.), the scene, 352-31 ant saints the philosophers Priscus and Maximus, on the nature of the soul. The efforts which he made, of mind, as well as body, most probably hastened his death. His wound began to bleed with fresh violence; his respiration was embarrassed by the swelling of the veins: he called for a draught of cold water, and, as soon as he had drank it, expired without pain, about the hour of midnight. Such was the end of that extraordinary man, in the thirty-second year of his age, after a reign of one year and about eight months, from the death of Constantius. In his last moments he displayed, perhaps with some oftentation, the love of virtue and of same, which had been the ruling passions of his life (99).

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The triumph of Christianity, and the calami-Election of ties of the empire, may in some measure, be as-the emperor cribed to Julian himself, who had neglected to A. D. 363, source the suture execution of his designs, by the lune 27.

fecure the future execution of his designs, by the June 27timely and judicious nomination of an associate
and successor. But the royal race of Constantius
Chlorus was reduced to his own person; and if
he entertained any serious thoughts of investing
with the purple the most worthy among the Romans, he was diverted from his resolution by the
difficulty of the choice, the jealousy of power,
he sear of ingratitude, and the natural presumpion of health, of youth, and of prosperity. His
unexpected death lest the empire without a maser, and without an heir, in a state of perplexity
and danger, which, in the space of sourscore
years, had never been experienced, since the
election

(99) The whole relation of the death of Julian is given by Ammianus xv. 3.), an intelligent spectator. Libanius, who turns with horror from e scene, has supplied some circumstances (Orat. Parental c. 136—140. 352—362.). The calumnies of Gregory, and the legends of more reat saints, may now be filently despised.

election of Diocletian. In a government, which had almost forgotten the distinction of pure and noble blood, the superiority of birth was of little moment; the claims of official rank were accidental and precarious; and the candidates, who might aspire to ascend the vacant throne, could be supported only by the consciousness of personal merit, or by the hopes of popular favour. But the fituation of a familhed army, encompalfed on all fides by an host of Barbarians, shortened the mements of grief and deliberation. In this scene of terror and distress, the body of the deceased prince, according to his own directions, was decently embalmed; and, at the dawn of day, the generals convened a military fenate, at which the commanders of the legions, and the officers, both of cavalry and infantry, were invited to affift. Three or four hours of the night had not passed away without some secret cabals; and when the election of an emperor was proposed, the spirit of faction began to agitate the affembly. Victor and Arinthæus collected the remains of the court of Constantius; the friends of Julian attached themselves to the Gallic chiefs, Dagalaiphus and Nevitta; and the most fatal consequences might be apprehended from the discord of two factions, so opposite in their character and interest, in their maxims of government, and perhaps in their religious principles. The fuperior virtues of Sallust could alone reconcile their divisions, and unite their suffrages; and the venerable præfect would immediately have been declared the fuccessor of Julian, if he himfelf, with fincere and modest firmness, had not alleged his age and infirmities, so unequal to the weight of the diadem. The generals, who were furprised and perplexed by his refusal, shewed fome

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some disposition to adopt the falutary advice of an inferior officer (100), that they should act as they would have acted in the absence of the emperor; that they should exert their abilities to extricate the army from the present distress: and, if they were fortunate enough to reach the confines of Melopotamia, they should proceed with united and deliberate counsels in the election of a lawful fovereign. While they debated. a few voices faluted Jovian, who was no more than first (101) of the domestics, with the names of Emperor and Augustus. The tumultuary acclamation was instantly repeated by the guards who furrounded the tent, and passed, in a few minutes, to the extremities of the line. new prince, aftonished with his own fortune, was hastily invested with the Imperial ornaments, and received an oath of fidelity from the generals, whose favour and protection he so lately solicited. The strongest recommendation of Jovian was the merit of his father, Count Varronian, who enjoyed, in honourable retirement, the fruit of his long services. In the obscure freedom of a private station, the fon indulged his taste for wine and women; yet he supported, with credit, the character of a Christian (102) and a soldier. Without

(100) Honoratior aliquis miles; perhaps Ammianus himself. The modest and judicious historian describes the scene of the election, at which he was undoubtedly present (xxv. 5.).

(101) The primus, or primicerius, enjoyed the dignity of a fenator; and though only a tribune, he ranked with the military dukes. Cod. Theodosian, l. vi. tit. xxiv. These privileges are perhaps more recent than the time of Javier.

(102) The ecclesiastical historians, Socrates (l. iii. c. 22.), Sozomen (l. vi. c. 3.), and Theodoret (l. iv. c. 1.), ascribe to Jovian the merit of a confessor under the preceding reign; and piously suppose, that he resused the purple, till the whole army unanimously exclaimed that they were Christians

Without being conspicuous for any of the ambitious qualifications which excite the admiration and envy of mankind, the comely person of lovian, his cheerful temper, and familiar wit, had gained the affection of his fellow-foldiers; and the generals of both parties acquiefced in a popular election, which had not been conducted by the arts of their enemies. The pride of this unexpected elevation was moderated by the just apprehension, that the same day might terminate the life and reign of the new emperor. pressing voice of necessity was obeyed without delay; and the first orders issued by Jovian, a few hours after his predecessor had expired, were to profecute a march, which could alone extricate the Romans from their actual diffress (103).

Danger and difficulty of the retreat.

July 1it.

The efteem of an enemy is most fincerely expressed by his fears; and the degree of fear may be accurately measured by the joy with which he June 27th—celebrates his deliverance. The welcome news of the death of Julian, which a deferter revealed to the camp of Sapor, inspired the desponding monarch with a fudden confidence of victory. He immediately detached the royal cavalry, perhaps the ten thousand Immortals (104), to second

tians. Ammianus, calmly pursuing his narrative, overthrows the legend by a fingle sentence. Hostiis pro Joviano extisque inspectis, pronuntiatua

(103) Ammianus (xxv. 10.) has drawn from the life an impartial por trait of Jovian: to which the younger Victor has added some remarkable Arokes. The Abbé de la Bleterie (Histoire de Jovien, toni. i. p. 1-238) has composed an elaborate history of his short reign; a work remarkably distinguished by elegance of style, critical disquisition, and religious pieja-

(104) Regins equitatus. It appears from Procopius, that the Immortals, so famous under Cyrus and his successors, were revived, if we may use the improper word, by the Sassanides. Brisson de Regno Persico, p. 268, &cc.

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and support the pursuit; and discharged the whole weight of his united forces on the rear-The rear-guard was guard of the Romans. thrown into disorder; the renowned legions, which derived their titles from Diocletian, and his warlike colleague, were broke and trampled down by the elephants; and three tribunes loft their lives in attempting to stop the flight of The battle was at length restored their foldiers. by the perfevering valour of the Romans; the Persians were repulsed with a great slaughter of men and elephants; and the army, after marching and fighting a long fummer's day, arrived, in the evening, at Samara on the banks of the Tigris, about one hundred miles above Cteliphon (105). On the ensuing day, the Barbarians, instead of harassing the march, attacked the camp, of Jovian; which had been feated in a deep and fequestered valley. From the hills, the archers of Persia insulted and annoyed the wearied legionaries; and a body of cavalry, which had penetrated with desperate courage through the Prætorian gate, was cut in pieces, after a doubtful conflict, near the Imperial tent. In the fucceeding night, the camp of Carche was protected by the lofty dykes of the river; and the Roman army, though incessantly exposed to the vexatious pursuit of the Saracens, pitched their tents near the city of Dura (106), four days after the death

⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ The obscure villages of the inland country are irrecoverably lost, nor can we name the field of battle where Julian fell: but M. d'Anville has demonstrated the precise situation of Sumere, Carche, and Dura, along the banks of the Tigris (Geographic Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 248. l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 95. 97.). In the ninth century, Sumere, or Samara, became, with a slight change of name, the royal residence of the Khaliss of the house of Abbas.

⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ Dura was a fortified place in the wars of Antiochus against the rebels of Media and Persia (Polybius, l. v. c. 48. 52. p. 548. 552. edit. Cafaubon, in 8vo.).

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death of Julian. The Tigris was still on their left; their hopes and provisions were almost confumed; and the impatient foldiers, who had fondly perfuaded themselves, that the frontiers of the empire were not far diftant, requested their new fovereign, that they might be permitted to hazard the passage of the river. With the assistance tance of his wifelt officers, Jovian endeavoured to check their rashness; by representing, that if they possessed sufficient skill and vigour to stem the torrent of a deep and rapid stream, they would only deliver themselves naked and defenceless to the Barbarians, who had occupied the opposite banks. Yielding at length to their clamorous importunities, he consented, with reluctance, that five hundred Gauls and Germans, accustomed from their infancy to the waters of the Rhine and Danube, should attempt the bold adventure, which might serve either as an encouragement, or as a warning, for the rest of the army. In the filence of the night, they swam the Tigris, surprised an unguarded post of the enemy, and displayed at the dawn of day the fignal of their resolution and fortune. The success of this trial disposed the emperor to listen to the promises of his architects, who proposed to construct a floating bridge of the inflated skins of sheep, oxen, and goats, covered with a floor of Two important days earth and fascines (107). were spent in the ineffectual labour; and the Romans, who already endured the miferies of famine, cast a look of despair on the Tigris, and upon the Barbarians; whose numbers and obftinancy

⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ A similar expedient was proposed to the leaders of the ten thousand, and wisely rejected. Xenophon, Anabasis, 1. iii. p. 255, 256, 257. It appears, from our modern travellers, that rafts floating on bladders perform the trade and navigation of the Tigris.

stinancy increased with the distress of the Imperial army (108).

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In this hopeless situation, the fainting spirits of Negotiation the Romans were revived by the found of peace. and treaty of The transient presumption of Sapor had vanish-peace. ed: he observed, with serious concern, that, in the repetition of doubtful combats, he had loft his most faithful and intrepid nobles, his bravelt troops, and the greatest part of his train of elephants: and the experienced monarch feared to provoke the relistance of despair, the vicislitudes of fortune, and the unexhausted powers of the Roman empire; which might foon advance to relieve, or to revenge, the successor of Julian. The Surenas himfelf, accompanied by another fatrap, appeared in the camp of Jovian (109); and declared, that the clemency of his fovereign was not averse to signify the conditions, on which he would confent to spare and to dismiss the Cæfar, with the relics of his captive army. The hopes of latety subdued the firmness of the Romans; the emperor was compelled, by the advice of his council, and the cries of the foldiers, to embrace the offer of peace; and the præfect Sallust was immediately sent, with the general Arinthæus, to understand the pleasure of the The crafty Persian delayed, under Great King. various pretences, the conclusion of the agreement; started difficulties, required explanations,

luggeited

⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ The first military acts of the reign of Jovian are related by Ammianus (xxv. 6.), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 146. p. 364.), and Zosimus (l. iii. p. 189, 190, 191.). Though we may distrust the fairness of Libanius, the ocular testimony of Eutropius (uno a Persis atque altero prælio victus, x. 17.) must incline us to suspect, that Ammianus has been too jealous of the honour of the Roman arms.

⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ Sextus Rusus (de Provinciis, c. 29.) embraces a poor subtersuge of national vanity. Tanta reverentia nominis Romani suit, ut a Persis primus de pace sermo haberetur.

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fuggested expedients, receded from his concess. ons, encreased his demands, and wasted four days in the arts of negociation, till he had confumed the flock of provisions which yet remained in the camp of the Romans. Had Jovian been capable of executing a bold and prudent measure, he would have continued his march with unremitting diligence; the progress of the treaty would have suspended the attacks of the Barbarians; and, before the expiration of the fourth day, he might have fafely reached the fruitful province of Corduenne, at the distance only of one hundred miles (110). The irrefolute emperor, instead of breaking through the toils of the enemy, expected his fate with patient refignation; and accepted the humiliating conditions of peace, which it was no longer in his power to refuse. The five provinces beyond the Tigris, which had been ceded by the grandfather of Sapor, were restored to the Persian monarchy. He acquired, by a fingle article, the impregnable city of Nisibis; which had sustained, in three fuccessive sieges, the effort of his arms. Singara, and the castle of the Moors one of the strongest places of Mesopotamia, were likewise dismembered from the empire. It was confidered as an indulgence, that the inhabitants of those fortreffes were permitted to retire with their effects; but the conqueror rigorously insisted, that the Romans should for ever abandon the king and kingdom of Armenia. A peace, or rather a long truce, of thirty years, was stipulated be-

⁽¹¹⁰⁾ It is presumptuous to controvert the opinion of Ammianus, a soldier and a spectator. Yet it is difficult to understand, how the mountains of Corduene could extend over the plain of Assyria, as low as the conflux of the Tigris and the great Zab: or how an army of fixty thousand men could march one hundred miles in four days.

tween the hostile nations; the faith of the treaty was ratisfied by solemn oaths, and religious ceremonies; and hostages of distinguished rank were reciprocally delivered to secure the performance

of the conditions (111).

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The fophist of Antioch, who saw with indig-The weaknation the sceptre of his hero in the feeble hand ness and difof a Christian successor, professes to admire the vian. moderation of Sapor, in contenting himself with so small a portion of the Roman empire. had stretched as far as the Euphrates the claims of his ambition, he might have been fecure, fays Libanius, of not meeting with a refusal. had fixed, as the boundary of Perlia, the Orontes, the Cydnus, the Sangarius, or even the Thracian Bolphorus, flatterers would not have been wanting in the court of Jovian to convince the timid monarch, that his remaining provinces would still afford the most ample gratifications of power and luxury (112). Without adopting in its full force this malicious infinuation, we must acknowledge, that the conclusion of so ignominious a treaty was facilitated by the private ambition of Jovian. The obscure domestic, exalted to the throne by fortune, rather than by merit, was impatient to escape from the hands of the Persians; that he might prevent the defigns of Procopius, who commanded the army of Mesopotamia, and establish his doubtful reign over the legions and provinces, which were still ignorant of the hafty and tumultuous choice of

(112) Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 143. p. 364, 365.

⁽¹¹¹⁾ The treaty of Dura is recorded with grief or indignation by Ammianus (xxv. 7.), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 142. p. 364), Zolimus (l. iii. p. 190. 191.), Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iv. p. 117, 118, who imputes the diffress to Julian, the deliverance to jovian); and Entropius (x. 17.). The last mentioned writer, who was present in a military station, styles this peace necessariam quidem sed ignobilem.

the camp beyond the Tigris (113). In the neighbourhood of the same river, at no very confiderable distance from the fatal station of Dura (114), the ten thousand Greeks, without generals, or guides, or provisions, were abandoned, above twelve hundred miles from their native country, to the refentment of a victorious monarch. The difference of their conduct and fuccess depended much more on their character than on their fituation. Instead of tamely refigning themselves to the secret deliberations and private views of a fingle person, the united councils of the Greeks were inspired by the generous enthusiasm of a popular assembly: where the mind of each citizen is filled with the love of glory, the pride of freedom, and the contempt of death. Conscious of their superiority over the Barbarians in arms and discipline, they disdained to yield, they refused to capitulate; every obstacle was surmounted by their patience, courage, and military skill; and the memorable retreat of the ten thousand exposed and infulted the weakness of the Persian monarchy (115).

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(113) Conditionibus . . . dispendiosis Romanæ reipublicæ impositis . . . quibus cupidior regni quam gloriæ Jovianus imperio rudis adquievit. Sextus Rusus de Provinciis, c. 29. La Bleterie has expressed, in a long direct oration, these specious considerations of public and private interest (Hist. de Jovien, tom. i. p. 39, &c.).

(114) The generals were murdered on the banks of the Zabatus (Ambasis, 1. ii. p. 156. l. iii. p. 226.), or great Zab, a river of Assyria, 400 seet broad, which falls into the Tigris source hours below Mosel. The error of the Greeks bestowed on the great and lesser Zab the names of the Wolf (Lycus), and the Goat (Capros). They created these animals to attend the Tyger of the East.

(115) The Cyropædia is vague and languid: the Anabasis circumstantitial and animated. Such is the eternal difference between siction and

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As the price of his difgraceful concessions, the Hecontinues emperor might perhaps have stipulated, that the his retreat to camp of the hungry Romans should be plentiful-Nisibis. ly supplied (116); and that they should be permitted to pass the Tigris on the bridge which was constructed by the hands of the Persians. But, if Jovian prelumed to folicit those equitable terms, they were iternly refused by the haughty tyrant of the East; whose clemency had pardoned the invaders of his country. The Saracens fometimes intercepted the stragglers of the march; but the generals and troops of Sapor respected the cellation of arms; and Jovian was fuffered to explore the most convenient place for The small vessels, the pailage of the river. which had been faved from the conflagration of the fleet, performed the most effential service. They first conveyed the emperor and his favourites; and afterwards transported, in many succellive voyages, a great part of the army. But, as every man was anxious for his personal safety, and apprehensive of being left on the hostile shore, the soldiers, who were too impatient to wait the flow return of the boats, boldly ventured themselves on light hurdles, or inflated ikins; and, drawing after them their horses, attempted, with various fuccess, to swim across the river. Many of these daring adventurers were Iwallowed by the waves; many others, who were carried along by the violence of the ftream, fell an easy prey to the avarice, or cruelty, of the wild Arabs: and the loss which the army fultained in the passage of the Tigris, was not

⁽¹¹⁶⁾ According to Rusinus, an immediate supply of provisions was slipulated by the treaty; and Theodoret affirms, that the obligation was faithfully discharged by the Persians. Such a fact is probable, but undoubtedly false. See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 702.

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not inferior to the carnage of a day of battle. As foon as the Romans had landed on the western bank, they were delivered from the hoftile pursuit of the Barbarians; but, in a laborious march of two hundred miles over the plains of Mesopotamia, they endured the last extremities of thirst and hunger. They were obliged to traverse a sandy defert, which, in the extent of feventy miles, did not afford a fingle blade of fweet grass, nor a single spring of fresh water: and the rest of the inhospitable waste was untrod by the footsteps either of friends or enemies. Whenever a small measure of flour could be discovered in the camp, twenty pounds weight were greedily purchased with ten pieces of gold (117): the beafts of burden were flaughtered and devoured; and the defert was strewed with the arms and baggage of the Roman foldiers, whose tattered garments and meagre countenances displayed their past sufferings, and actual mifery. A small convoy of provisions advanced to meet the army as far as the castle of Ur; and the supply was the more grateful, since it declared the fidelity of Sebattian and Procopius. At Thilfapatha (118), the emperor most graciously

(117) We may recollect fome lines of Lucan (Pharfal. iv. 95.), who describes a similar distress of Czefar's army in Spain:

Sæva fames aderat-

Miles eget: toto censû non prodigus emit Exiguam Cererem. Proh lucri pallida tabes! Non deest prolato jejunus venditor auro.

See Guichardt (Nouveaux Memoires Militaires, tom. i. p. 379-382). His Analysis of the two Campaigns in Spain and Africa, is the noblest monument that has ever been raised to the same of Cæsar.

(118) M. d'Anville (see his Maps, and l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 92, 93.) traces their march, and assigns the true position of Hatra, Ur, and Thissapatha, which Ammianus has mentioned. He does not complain of the Samiel, the deadly hot wind, which Thevenot (Voyages, part ii. l. i. p. 192.) so much dreaded.

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ciously received the generals of Mesopotamia; and the remains of a once flourishing army at length reposed themselves under the walls of Nisibis. The messengers of Jovian had already proclaimed, in the language of flattery, his election, his treaty, and his return; and the new prince had taken the most effectual measures to secure the allegiance of the armies and provinces of Europe; by placing the military command in the hands of those officers, who, from motives interest, or inclination, would firmly support the cause of their benefactor (119.)

The friends of Julian had confidently an-Universal nounced the success of his expedition. They en-clamour tertained a fond persuasion, that the temples of the treaty of the gods would be enriched with the spoils of the peace

the gods would be enriched with the spoils of the peace. East; that Persia would be reduced to the humble flate of a tributary province, governed by the laws and magistrates of Rome; that the Barbarians would adopt the dreis, and manners, and language, of their conquerors; and that the youth of Ecbatana and Susa would study the art of rhetoric under Grecian mafters (120). The progress of the arms of Julian interrupted his communication with the empire; and, from the moment he had passed the Tigris, his affectionate subjects were ignorant of the fate and fortunes of their prince. Their contemplation of lancied triumphs was diffurbed by the melancholy rumour of his death; and they perfifted to doubt, after they could no longer deny, the Vol. IV.

⁽¹¹⁹⁾ The retreat of Jovian is described by Ammianus (xxv. 9.), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 143. p. 365.), and Zosimus (l. iii. p. 194.).

⁽¹²⁰⁾ Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 145. p. 366. Such were the natural topes and wishes of a rhetorician.

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truth of that fatal event (121). The messengers of Jovian promulgated the specious tale of a prudent and necessary peace: the voice of fame. louder and more fincere, revealed the difgrace of the emperor, and the conditions of the ignominious treaty. The minds of the people were filled with aftonishment and grief, with indignation and terror, when they were informed, that the unworthy successor of Julian relinquished the five provinces, which had been acquired by the victory of Galerius; and that he shamefully furrendered to the Barbarians the important city of Nisibis, the firmest bulwark of the provinces of the East (122). The deep and dangerous question, how far the public safety, was freely agitated in popular conversation; and some hopes were entertained, that the emperor would redeem his pufillanimous behaviour by a splendid act of patriotic perfidy. The inflexible spirit of the Roman senate had always disclaimed the unequal conditions which were extorted from the diftress of her captive armies; and, if it were necessary to fatisfy the national honour, by delivering the guilty general into the hands of the Barbarians, the greatest part of the subjects of ovian

(121) The people of Carrhæ, a city devoted to Paganism, buried the inauspicious metsenger under a pile of stones (Zosimus, l. iii. p. 196.). Libanius, when he received the fatal intelligence, cast his eye on his sword: but he recollected that Plato had condemned suicide, and that he must hive to compose the panegyric of Julian (Libanius de Vita sua, tom, ii. p. 45, 46.).

(122) Ammianus and Eutropius may be admitted as fair and credible witnesses of the public language and opinions. The people of Anticch reviled an ignominious peace, which exposed them to the Persians, on a naked and desenceless frontier (Excerpt. Valensia, p. 845. ex Joanna

Antiocheno.).

Jovian would have cheerfully acquiefced in the

precedent of ancient times (123).

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But the emperor, whatever might be the limits Jovian evaof his constitutional authority, was the absolute bis, and remafter of the laws and arms of the fate; and floresthefive the same motives which had forced him to sub-provinces to scribe, now pressed him to execute, the treaty of peace. He was impatient to fecure an empire at the expense of a few provinces; and the respect-August. able names of religion and honour concealed the personal fears and the ambition of Jovian. withstanding the dutiful solicitations of the inhabitants, decency, as well as prudence, forbade the emperor to lodge in the palace of Nisibis; but the next morning after his arrival. Binefes. the ambaffador of Persia, entered the place, displayed from the citadel the standard of the Great King, and proclaimed, in his name, the carel alternative of exile or fervitude. principal citizens of Nisibis, who, till that fatal moment, had confided in the protection of their lovereign, threw themselves at his feet. conjured him not to abandon, or, at least, not to deliver, a faithful colony to the rage of a Barbarian tyrant, exasperated by the three successive defeats, which he had experienced under the walls of Nilibis. They still possessed arms and courage to repel the invaders of their country: they requelted only the permission of using them in their own defence; and, as foon as they had afferted their independence, they should implore the favour of being again admitted into the rank of

⁽¹²³⁾ The Abbé de la Bleterie (Hist. de Jovien, tom. i. p. 212—247.), though a severe casuist, has pronounced that Jovian was not bound to execute his promise; since he could not dismember the empire, nor alienate, without their consent, the allegiance of his people. I have never sound much delight or instruction in such political metaphysics.

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Their arguments, their eloof his fubjects. quence, their tears were ineffectual. Jovian alleged, with some confusion, the fanctity of oaths: and, as the reluctance with which he accepted the present of a crown of gold, convinced the citizens of their hopeless condition, the advocate Sylvanus was provoked to exclaim, "O Empe-" ror! may you thus be crowned by all the cities " of your dominions!" Jovian, who in a few weeks had affumed the habits of a prince (124). was displeased with freedom, and offended with truth: and as he reasonably supposed, that the discontent of the people might incline them to fubmit to the Persian government, he published an edict, under pain of death, that they should leave the city within the term of three days. Ammianus has delineated in lively colours the scene of universal despair which he seems to have viewed with an eye of compassion (125). The martial youth deserted, with indignant grief, the walls which they had fo glorioufly defended: the disconsolate mourner dropt a last tear over the tomb of a fon or husband, which must soon be profaned by the rude hand of a Barbarian mafter; and the aged citizen kiffed the treshold, and clung to the doors, of the house, where he had passed the cheerful and careless hours of in-The highways were crowded with a trembling multitude: the diffinctions of rank, and fex, and age, were lost in the general cala-Every one strove to bear away some fragment from the wreck of his fortunes; and as they

⁽¹²⁴⁾ At Nisibis he performed a royal act. A brave officer, his namefake, who had been thought worthy of the purple, was dragged from supper, thrown into a well, and stoned to death, without any form of trial or evidence of guilt. Ammian. xxv. 8.

⁽¹²⁵⁾ See xxv. 9. and Zosimus, 1. iii. p. 194, 195.

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they could not command the immediate fervice of an adequate number of horses or waggons, they were obliged to leave behind them the greatest part of their valuable effects. The favage iniensibility of Jovian appears to have aggravated the hardships of these unhappy fugitives. were feated, however, in a new-built quarter of Amida; and that rifing city, with the reinforcement of a very confiderable colony, foon recovered its former splendour, and became the capital of Mesopotamia (126). Similar orders were dispatched by the emperor for the evacuation of Singara and the castle of the Moors; and for the restitution of the five provinces beyond the Tigris. Sapor enjoyed the glory and the fruits of his victory; and this ignominious peace has justly been considered as a memorable æra in the decline and fall of the Roman empire. The predecessors of Jovian had sometimes relinquished the dominion of distant and unprofitable provinces: but, fince the foundation of the city, the genius of Rome, the god Terminus, who guarded the boundaries of the republic, had never retired before the fword of a victorious enemy (127).

After Jovian had performed those engage-Reflections ments, which the voice of his people might have on the death, tempted him to violate, he hastened away from the scene of his disgrace, and proceeded with his whole court to enjoy the luxury of Antioch

(126) Chron. Paschal, p. 300. The Ecclesiastical Notitiæ may be consulted.

⁽¹²⁷⁾ Zosimus, l. iii. p. 192, 193. Sextus Rusus de Provinciis, c. 29. Augustin de Civitat. Dei, l. iv. c. 29. This general position must be applied and interpreted with some caution.

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Without confulting the dictates of och (128). religious zeal, he was prompted by humanity and gratitude, to beltow the last honours on the remains of his deceased sovereign (129); and Procepius, who fincerely bewailed the loss of his kinfman, was removed from the command of the army, under the decent pretence of conducting the funeral. The corple of Julian was transported from Nisibis to Tarfus, in a slow march of fifteen days; and, as it passed through the cities of the East, was saluted by the hostile factions, with mournful lamentations and clamor-The Pagans already placed their ous infults. beloved hero in the rank of those gods whose worship he had restored; while the invectives of the Christians pursued the foul of the apostate to hell, and his body to the grave (130). One party lamented the approaching ruin of their altars; the other celebrated the marvellous deliverance of the church. The Christians applauded, in lofty and ambiguous strains, the stroke of divine vengeance, which had been fo long suspended over the guilty head of Julian. They acknowledged, that the death of the tyrant, at the instant he expired beyond the Tigris, was revealed

(128) Ammianus, xxv. 9. Zofimus, I. iii. p. 196. He might be edax, et vino Venerique indulgens. But I agree with La Bleterie (tom. i. p. 148—154), in rejecting the foolish report of a B. cchanalian riot (ap. Suidam) celebrated at Antioch, by the emperor, his wfe, and a troop of concubines.

(129) The Abbé de la Bleterie (tom. i. p. 156, 209) handsomely exposes the brutal bigotry of Baronius, who would have thrown Julian to

the dogs, ne cespititia quidem sepultura dignus.

⁽¹³⁰⁾ Compare the tophist and the faint (Libanius, Monod. tom. in p. 251. and Orat. Parent. c. 145. p. 367. c. 156. p. 377. with Gregory Nazianzen, Orat. iv. p. 125—132.). The Christian orator faintly mutters some exhortations to modesty and sorgiveness: but he is well satisfied, that the real sufferings of Julian will far exceed the sabulous torments of Ixion or Tantalus.

to the faints of Egypt, Syria, and Cappadocia (131); and, instead of suffering him to fall by the Perlian darts, their indifcretion ascribed the heroic deed to the obscure hand of some mortal or immortal champion of the faith (132). Such imprudent declarations were eagerly adopted by the malice, or credulity, of their adversaries (133); who darkly infinuated, or confidently afferted, that the governors of the church had instigated and directed the fanaticism of a domestic affassin (134). Above sixteen years after the death of Julian, the charge was folemnly and vehemently urged, in a public oration, addressed by Libanius to the emperor Theodolius. His fuspicions are unsupported by fact or argument; and we can only esteem the generous zeal of the foplish of Antioch, for the cold and neglected after of his friend (135).

It

(131) Tillemont (Hift. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 349.) has collected these visions. Some saint or angel was observed to be absent in the night on a secret expedition, &c.

(132) Sozomen (l. vi. 2) applauds the Greek doctrine of tyrannicide; but the whole passage, which a Jesuit might have translated, is prudent-

ly suppressed by the president Cousin.

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(133) Immediately after the death of Julian, an uncertain rumour was feattered, telo cecidiffe Romano. It was carried, by some deserters, to the Persian camp; and the Romans were reproached as the affassins of the emperor by Sapor and his subjects (Ammian. xxv. 6. Libanius de ulciscenda Juliani nece, c. xiii. p. 162, 163.). It was urged, as a decisive proof, that no Persian had appeared to claim the promised reward (Liban. Orat. Parent. c. 141. p. 363.). But the flying horseman, who darted the satal javelin, might be ignorant of its effect; or he might be than in the same action. Ammianus neither feels nor inspires a suspicion.

(134) Os Tis evtoling This without Tay of the first, without arival, of the Christian elergy (Libanius de ulcis. Jul. nece, c. 5. p. 149.

La Bleterie, Hitt. de Jovien, tom. i. p. 179.1.

(133) The Orator (Fabricius, Bibliot. Græc. tom. vii. p. 145—179.) featters suspicions, demands an inquiry, and infinuates, that proofs might still be obtained. He ascribes the success of the Huns to the criminal aeglect of revenging Julian's death,

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and funeral of Julian.

It was the ancient custom in the funerals, as well as in the triumphs, of the Romans, that the voice of praise should be corrected by that of fatire and ridicule; and, that in the midst of the fplendid pageants, which displayed the glory of the living or of the dead, their imperfections should not be concealed from the eyes of the world (136). This custom was practifed in the funeral of Julian. The comedians, who refented his contempt and aversion for the theatre, exhibited, with the applause of a Christian audience, the lively and exaggerated representation of the faults and follies of the deceased emperor. His various character and fingular manners afforded an ample scope for pleasantry and ridicule (137). In the exercise of his uncommon talents, he often descended below the majesty of his rank. Alexander was transformed into Diogenes; the philosopher was degraded into a priest. The purity of his virtue was fullied by excessive vanity; his superstition disturbed the peace, and endangered the fafety, of a mighty empire; and his irregular fallies were the less intitled to indulgence, as they appeared to be the laborious efforts of art, or even of affectation. The remains of Julian were interred at Tarfus in Cilicia; but his ftately tomb, which arose in that city, on the banks of the cold and limpid Cydnus (138),

⁽¹³⁶⁾ At the funeral of Vefpasian, the comedian who personated that frugal emperor, anxiously inquired how much it cost—Four-score thousand pounds (centies)—Give me the tenth part of the sum, and throw my body into the Tyber. Sueton. in Vespasian. c. 19. with the notes of Casaubon and Gronovius.

⁽¹³⁷⁾ Gregory (Orat. iv. p. 119. 120.) compares this supposed ignoming and ridicule to the funeral honours of Constantius, whose body was chaunted over mount Taurus by a choir of angels.

⁽¹³⁸⁾ Quintus Curtius, I. iii. c. 4. The luxuriancy of his descriptions has been often censured. Yet it was almost the duty of the historian to describe a river, whose waters had nearly proved fatal to Alexander.

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riptions n to dewas displeasing to the faithful friends, who loved and revered the memory of that extraordinary man. The philosopher expressed a very reasonable wish, that the disciple of Plato might have reposed amidst the groves of the academy (139): while the soldier exclaimed in bolder accents, that the ashes of Julian should have been mingled with those of Cæsar, in the sield of Mars, and among the antient monuments of Roman virtue (140). The history of princes does not very frequently renew the example of a similar competition.

(139) Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 156. p. 377. Yet he acknowledges with gratitude the liberality of the two royal brothers in decorating the tomb of Julian (de ulcif. Jul. nece, c 7. p. 152.).

videre deberet, quamvis gratissimus amnis et liquidus: sed ad perpetuandam gloriam recte sactorum præterlambere Tiberis, intersecans urbem æternam, divorumque veterum monumenta præstringens. Ammian.

CHAP. XXV.

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The Government and Death of Jovian.—Election of Valentinian, who associates his Brother Valens, and makes the final Division of the Eastern and Western Empires.—Revolt of Procopius.—Civil and Ecclesiastical Administration.—Germany.—Britain.—Africa.—The East.—The Danube.—Death of Valentinian.—His two Sons, Gratian and Valentinian II., Succeed to the Western Empire.

State of the church, A. D. 363.

THE death of Julian had left the public affairs of the empire in a very doubtful and dangerous fituation. The Roman army was faved by an inglorious, perhaps a necessary, treaty (1); and the first moments of peace were confecrated by the pious Jovian to restore the domestic tranquillity of the church and state, The indifcretion of his predecessor, instead of reconciling, had artfully fomented the religious war: and the balance which he affected to preferve between the hostile factions, served only to perpetuate the contest, by the viciflitudes of hope and fear, by the rival claims of ancient possession and actual favour. The Christians had forgotten the spirit of the Gospel; and the Pagans had imbibed the spirit of the church.

⁽¹⁾ The medals of Jovian adorn him with victories, laurel crowns, and Prostrate captives. Ducange, Famil. Byzantin. p. 52. Flattery is a soulish faicide: the destroys herself with her own hands.

In private families, the fentiments of nature were extinguished by the blind fury of zeal and revenge: the majefty of the laws was violated or abused; the cities of the East were stained with blood; and the most implacable of the Romans were in the bosom of their country. Jovian was educated in the profession of Christianity; and as he marched from Nisibis to Antioch, the banner of the Cross, the Labarum of Confantine, which was again displayed at the head of the legions, announced to the people the faith of their new emperor. As foon as he afcended the throne, he transmitted a circular epistle to all the governors of provinces: in which he confelled the divine truth, and fecured the legal establishment, of the Christian religion. infidious edicts of Julian were abolished; the ecdeliaftical immunities were reftored and enlarged; and Jovian condescended to lament, that the diffress of the times obliged him to diminish the measure of charitable distributions (2). The Christians were unanimous in the loud and sintere applause which they bestowed on the pious luccessor of Julian. But they were still ignorant, what creed, or what fynod, he would chuse for the standard of orthodoxy; and the peace of the church immediately revived those eager disputes which had been fulpended during the leaon of persecution. The episcopal leaders of he contending fects, convinced, from experi-

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⁽² Jovian restored to the church τον αξχαιον χοσμον; a forcible and comprehensive expression (Philostorgius, l. viii. c. 5. with Godefroy's Disertations, p. 329. Sozomen, l. vi. c. 3). The new law which condemned the rape or marriage of nuns (Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. xxv. leg. 2.), a exaggerated by Sozomen; who supposes, that an amorous glance, the dultery of the heart, was punished with death by the evangelic legister.

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ence, how much their fate would depend on the earliest impressions that were made on the mind of an untutored foldier, haftened to the court of Edessa, or Antioch. The highways of the East were crowded with Homoousian, and Arian, and Semi-Arian, and Eunomian bishops, who strug. gled to out-strip each other in the holy race: the apartments of the palace resounded with their clamours; and the ears of the prince were affaulted, and perhaps aftonished, by the fingular mixture of metaphyfical argument and paffionate invective (3). The moderation of Jovian, who recommended concord and charity, and referred the disputants to the sentence of a suture council, was interpreted as a symptom of indifference: but his attachment to the Nicene creed was at length discovered and declared, by the reverence which he expressed for the cælestial (4) virtues of the great Athanasius. The intrepid veteran of the faith, at the age of seventy, had issued from his retreat on the first intelligence of the tyrant's death. The acclamations of the people feated him once more on the archiepifcopal throne; and he wisely accepted, or anticipated, the invitation of Jovian. The venerable figure of Athanafius, his calm courage, and infinuating eloquence, sustained the reputation which he had already acquired in the courts of four fucces-

(3) Compare Socrates, l. iii. c. 25. and Philostorgius, l. viii. c. 6. with Godefroy's Differtations, p. 330.

⁽⁴⁾ The word calestial faintly expresses the impious and extravegant flattery of the emperor to the archbishop, The Teos TOV OSON TON OAS ομοιωσεως (See the original epistle in Athanasius, tom. ii. p. 33.). Gre gory Nazianzen (Orat. xxi. p. 392.) celebrates the friendship of Jovian and Athanasius. The primate's journey was advised by the Egyptian Monk (Tillemont, Mem. Eccef. tom. viii. p. 221.).

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five princes (5). As foon as he had gained the confidence, and secured the faith, of the Christian emperor, he returned in triumph to his diocese, and continued, with mature counsels, and undiminished vigour, to direct, ten years longer (6), the ecclesiastical government of Alexandria, Egypt, and the Catholic church. Before his departure from Antioch, he assured Jovian that his orthodox devotion would be rewarded with a long and peaceful reign. Athanasius had reason to hope, that he should be allowed either the merit of a successful prediction, or the excuse of a grateful; though inessectual, prayer (7).

The flightest force, when it is applied to affist Jovian proand guide the natural descent of its object, ope-claims unirates with irresistible weight; and Jovian had the ration. good fortune to embrace the religious opinions which were supported by the spirit of the times, and the zeal and numbers of the most powerful sect (8). Under his reign, Christianity obtained

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(5) Athanasius, at the court of Antioch, is agreeably represented by La Bleterie (Hist. de Jovien, tom. i. p. 121—148.): he translates the singular and original conferences of the emperor, the primate of Egypt, and the Arian deputies. The Abbé is not satisfied with the coarse pleasantry of Jovian; but his partiality for Athanasius assumes, in his eyes, the character of justice.

(6) The true æra of his death is perplexed with some difficulties (Tillemont, Mem. Eccles. tom. viii. p. 719—723) But the date (A. D-373, May 2.), which seems the most consistent with history and reason, is ratisfied by his authentic life (Massei Osservazioni Letterarie, tom. iii, p. 81.).

(7) See the observations of Valesius and Jortin (Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. iv. p. 38) on the original letter of Athanasius; which is preserved by Theodoret (l. iv. c. 3.). In some MSS, this indiscreet promise is omitted; perhaps by the Catholics, jealous of the prophetic same of their leader.

(8) Athanasius (apud Theodoret, I. iv. c. 3.) magnifies the number of the orthodox, who composed the whole world, παρέξ ολιγων ιων τα Αρειε Φρονεντων. This affertion was verified in the space of thirty or forty years.

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an easy and lasting victory; and as soon as the fmile of royal patronage was withdrawn, the genius of paganism, which had been fondly raised and cherished by the arts of Julian, sunk irrecoverably in the dust. In many cities, the temples were shut or deserted; the philosophers, who had abused their transient favour, thought it prudent to have their beards, and disguise their profess. on; and the Christians rejoiced, that they were now in a condition to forgive, or to revenge, the injuries which they had fuffered under the pre-The consternation of the ceding reign (9). Pagan world was dispelled by a wife and gracious edict of toleration; in which Jovian explicitly declared, that although he hould feverely punish the sacrilegious rites of magic, his subjects might exercise, with freedom and safety, the ceremonies of the ancient worship. memory of this law has been preferved by the orator Themistius, who was deputed by the senate of Constantinople to express their loyal devotion for the new emperor. Themistius expatiates on the clemency of the Divine Nature, the facility of human error, the rights of conscience, and the independence of the mind; and, with fome eloquence, inculcates the principles of philofophical toleration; whose aid Superstition herfelf, in the hour of her distress, is not ashamed to implore. He justly observes, that in the recent changes, both religions had been alternately difgraced by the feeming acquisition of worthless profelytes, of those votaries of the reigning purple, who could pass, without a reason, and without a blush, from the church to the temple, and from

⁽⁹⁾ Socrates, I. iii. c. 24. Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iv. p. 131), and Libanius (Orat. Parentalis, c. 148. p. 369.), express their living fentiments of their respective sactions.

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In the space of seven months, the Roman His progress troops, who were now returned to Antioch, had from Antiperformed a march of fifteen hundred miles; A. D. 363, in which they had endured all the hardships of October. war, of famine, and of climate. Notwithflanding their fervices, their fatigues, and the approach of winter, the timid and impatient Jovian allowed only, to the men and horses, a respite of six weeks. The emperor could not fuffain the indifcreet and malicious raillery of the people of Antioch (11). He was impatient to posless the palace of Constantinople; and to prevent the ambition of some competitor, who might occupy the vacant allegiance of Europe. But he foon received the grateful intelligence, that his authority was acknowledged from the Thracian Bosphorus to the Atlantic ocean. the first letters which he dispatched from the camp of Mesopotamia, he had delegated the military command of Gaul and Illyricum to Malarich, a brave and faithful officer of the nation of the Franks; and to his father-in-law, count Lucillian, who had formerly distinguished his courage and conduct in the defence of Nisibis. Malarich had declined an office to which he thought himself unequal; and Lucillian was massacred

⁽¹⁰⁾ Themistius, Orat. v. p. 63-71. edit. Harduin. Paris, 1684. The Abbé de la Bleterie judiciously remarks (Hist. de Jovien, tom. i. p. 199.), that Sozomen has forgot the general toleration; and Themistius, the establishment of the Catholic religion. Each of them turned away from the object which he disliked; and wished to suppress the part of the edict, the least honourable, in his opinion, to the emperor Jovian.

⁽¹¹⁾ Οι δε Αιτιοχεις εχ ήδεως διεκειντο προς αυτον: αλλ' επεσκωπτον αυτου ωδαις και παρωδιαις, και τοις καλεμενοις Φαμωσσοις (famofis libellis). Johan. Antiochen. in Excerpt. Valesian. p. 845. The libels of Antioch may be admitted on very slight evidence.

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maffacred at Rheims, in an accidental mutiny of the Batavian cohorts (12). But the moderation of Jovinus, mafter-general of the cavalry, who forgave the intention of his difgrace, foon appealed the tumult, and confirmed the uncertain minds of the foldiers. The oath of fidelity was administered, and taken, with loyal acclamations; and the deputies of the Western armies (13) faluted their new fovereign as he descended from Mount Taurus to the city of Tyana, in Cappadocia. From Tyana he continued his halty march to Ancrya, capital of the province of Galatia; where Jovian assumed, with his infant son, the name and ensigns of the consulship (14). Dandastana (15), an obscure town, almost at an equal distance between Ancrya and Nice, was marked for the fatal term of his journey and his life. After indulging himself with a plentiful, perhaps an intemperate supper, he retired to rest; and the next morning the emperor Jovian was found dead in his bed. cause of this sudden death was variously underflood. By some it was ascribed to the confequences of an indigestion, occasioned either by

A. D. 364.

Death of Jovian. February 17

(12) Compare Ammianus (xxv. 10.), who omits the name of the Batavians, with Zosimus (l. iii. p. 197.), who removes the scene of action from Rheims to Sirmium.

(13) Quos capita scholarum ordo castrensis appellat. Ammian. xxv. 10. and Vales. ad locum.

(14) Cujus vagitus, pertinaciter reluctantis, ne in curuli sella veherelus ex more, id quod mox accidit protendebat. Augustus, and his successors, respectfully solicited a dispensation of age for the sons or nephews, when they raised to the consulship. But the curule chair of the first Brutus sal never been dishonoured by an infant.

(15) The Itinerary of Antoninus fixes Dadastana 125 Roman miles from Nice; 117 from Ancyra (Wesseling, Itinerar. p. 142). The pilgrim of Bourdeaux, by omitting some stages, reduces the whole space from 242 to 181 miles. Wesseling, p. 574.

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he quantity of the wine, or the quality of the mushrooms, which he had swallowed in the According to others, he was suffocatevening. ed in his fleep by the vapour of charcoal; which extracted from the walls of the apartment the unwholesome moisture of the fresh plaister (16). But the want of a regular enquiry into the death of a prince, whole reign and person were soon forgotten, appears to have been the only circumftance which countenanced the malicious whispers of poison and domestic guilt (17). The body of Jovian was sent to Constantinople, to be interred with his predecessors; and the sad procession was met on the road by his wife Chanio, the daughter of count Lucillian; who still wept the recent death of her father, and was haftening to dry her tears in the embraces of an Imperial husband. Her disappointment and grief were embittered by the anxiety of maternal tenderness. Six weeks before the death of Jovian, his infant fon had been placed in the curule chair, adorned with the title of Nobliffimus, and the vain enfigns of the confulship. Unconscious of his fortune, the royal youth, who, from his grandfather, assumed the name of Varronian, was reminded only by the jealouly of the government, that he was the fon of an emperor. Sixteen years afterwards he was Italialive, but he had already been deprived of an eye; and his afflicted mother expected, every VOL. IV.

⁽¹⁶⁾ See Ammianus (xxv. 10.), Eutropius (x. 18.). who might likewise be present, Jerom (tom. i. p. 26. ad Heliodolum), Orosius (vii. 31), Sozomen (l. vi. c. 6.), Zosimus (l. iii. p. 197, 198.), and Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 28, 29.). We cannot expect a persect agreement, and we shall not discuss minute differences.

⁽¹⁷⁾ Ammianus, unmindful of his usual candour and good sense, compares the death of the harmless Jovian to that of the second Africans, who had excited the sears and resentment of the popular saction.

hour, that the innocent victim would be torn from her arms, to appeafe, with his blood, the

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Vacancy of the throne.

After the death of Jovian, the throne of the Feb. 17- Roman world remained ten days (19) without a mafter. The ministers and generals still continued to meet in council; to exercise their respective functions; to maintain the public order; and peaceably to conduct the army to the city of Nice, in Bithynia, which was chosen for the place of the election (20). In a folemn affembly of the civil and military powers of the empire, the diadem was again unanimously offered to the præfect Sallust. He enjoyed the glory of a fecond refusal; and when the virtues of the father were alleged in favour of his fon, the præfect, with the firmness of a disinterested patriot, declared to the electors, that the feeble age of the one, and the unexperienced youth of the other, were equally incapable of the laborious duties of government. Several candidates were propoled:

> (18) Chrysostom, tom. i. p. 336, 344. edit. Montfaucon. The Christian orator attempts to comfort a widow by the examples of illustrious misfortunes; and observes, that of nine emperors (including the Cæfar Gallus), who had reigned in his time, only two (Constantine and Constantius) died a natural death. Such vague consolations have never wiped away a fingle tear.

> (19) Ten days appear scarcely sufficient for the march and election. But it may be observed: 1. That the generals might command the expeditious use of the public posts for themselves, their attendants, and messengers. 2. That the troops, for the ease of the cities, marched in many divisions; and that the head of the column might arrive at Nice,

when the rear halted at Ancyra.

(20) Ammianus, xxvi. 1. Zosimus, I. iii. p. 198. Philostorgius, I. viii. c. 8. and Godefroy, Differtat. p. 334. Philostorgius, who appears to have obtained some curious and authentic intelligence, ascribes the choice of Valentinian to the prætect Sallutt, the master-general Arintheuse Dagalaiphus, count of the domestics, and the Patrician Datianus, whole preffing recommendations from Ancyra had a weighty influence in the election.

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proposed: and, after weighing the objections of character or fituation, they were fuccessively rejected: but, as soon as the name of Valentinian was pronounced, the merit of that officer united the fuffrages of the whole affembly, and obtained the fincere approbation of Sallust himself. Valentinian (21) was the fon of count Gratian, a Election and native of Cibalis, in Pannonia, who, from an character of Valentinian. obscure condition, had raised himself, by matches firength and dexterity, to the military commands of Africa and Britain; from which he etired, with an ample fortune and fuspicious in-The rank and services of Gratian conegrity. ributed, however, to smooth the first steps of he promotion of his fon; and afforded him an arly opportunity of displaying those solid and neful qualifications, which raised his character bove the ordinary level of his fellow-foldiers. The person of Valentinian was tall, graceful, nd majestic. His manly countenance, deeply narked with the impression of sense and spirit, appred his friends with awe, and his enemies ith fear: and, to second the efforts of his unaunted courage, the son of Gratian had inheted the advantages of a strong and healthy onstitution. By the habits of chastity and temerance, which restrain the appetites, and inviprate the faculties, Valentinian preserved his wn, and the public, esteem. The avocations a military life had diverted his youth from de elegant pursuits of literature; he was ignont of the Greek language, and the arts of letoric; but as the mind of the orator was ne-

(1) Ammianus (xxx. 7. 9.), and the younger Victor, have furnished portrait of Valentinian; which naturally precedes and illustrates the by of his reign,

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ver disconcerted by timid perplexity, he was able, as often as the occasion prompted him, to deliver his decided fentiments with bold and ready elocution. The laws of martial discipline were the only laws that he had studied; and he was foon diffinguished by the laborious diligence, and inflexible feverity, with which he discharged and inforced the duties of the camp. In the time of Julian he provoked the danger of difgrace, by the contempt which he publicly expres fed for the reigning religion (22); and it should feem, from his subsequent conduct, that the indiscreet and unseasonable freedom of Valentinian was the effect of military spirit, rather than of Christian zeal. He was pardoned, how ever, and still employed by a prince who esteem ed his merit (23): and in the various events of the Persian war, he improved the reputation which he had already acquired on the banks of the Rhine. The celerity and fuccess with which he executed an important commission, recommended him to the favour of Jovian; and tothe honourable command of the second school, of company, of Targetteers, of the domething guards. In the march from Antioch, he had reached his quarters at Ancyra, when he wa unexpectedly fummoned, without guilt, and without intrigue, to assume, in the forty-thing

(22) At Antioch, where he was obliged to attend the emperor to the temple, he struck a priest, who had presumed to purify him with lustre water. (Sozomen, l. vi. c. 6. Theodoret, l. iii. c. 15.) Such public defiance might become Valentinian; but it could leave no room for the unworthy relation of the philosopher Maximus, which supposes some private offence (Zosimus, l. iv. p. 200, 201.).

(23) Socrates, l. iv. A previous exile to Melitene, or Thebais (1) first might be possible), is interposed by Sozomen (l. vi. c. 6.) and Phil storgius (l. vii. c. 7. with Godefroy's Differtations, p. 293.)

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The invitation of the ministers and generals at He is ac-Nice was of little moment, unless it were con-knowledged by the woise of the army, firmed by the voice of the army. The aged A. D. 364. Sallust, who had long observed the irregular February 26. fluctuations of popular affemblies, proposed, under pain of death, that none of those persons, whose rank in the service might excite a party in their favour, should appear in public, on the day of the inauguration. Yet fuch was the prevalence of ancient superstition, that a whole day was voluntarily added to this dangerous interval, because it happened to be the intercalation of the Biffextile (24). At length, when the hour was supposed to be propitious, Valentinian shewed himself from a lofty tribunal: the judicious choice was applauded; and the new prince was folemnly invested with the diadem and the purple, amidst the acclamations of the troops, who were disposed in martial order round the tribunal. But when he stretched forth his hand to address the armed multitude, a busy whisper was accidentally started in the ranks, and insensibly swelled into a loud and imperious clamour, that he should name, without delay, a colleague in the empire. The intrepid calmness of Valentinian obtained filence, and commanded respect: and he thus addressed the assembly; "A few " minutes fince it was in your power, fellow-" foldiers, to have left me in the obscurity of a e private

⁽²⁴⁾ Ammianus, in a long, because unseasonable, digression (xxvi. 1. and Valesius ad locum), rashly supposes that he understands an astronomical question, of which his readers are ignorant. It is treated with more judgment and propriety by Censorinus (de Die Natali, c. 20.), and Macrobius (Saturnal. 1. i. cap. 12—16.) The appellation of Bessextile, which marks the inauspicious year (Augustin. ad Januarim. Epist. 119), is derived from the repertion of the sixth day of the calends of March.

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" private station. Judging, from the testimony " of my past life, that I deserved to reign, you " have placed me on the throne. It is now my "duty to confult the fafety and interest of the " republic. The weight of the universe is " undoubtedly too great for the hands of a " feeble mortal. I am conscious of the limits " of my abilities, and the uncertainty of my " life: and far from declining, I am anxious to " folicit, the affiftance of a worthy colleague, " But, where discord may be fatal, the choice " of a faithful friend requires mature and serious deliberation. That deliberation shall be my " care. Let your conduct be dutiful and con-" sistent. Retire to your quarters; refresh your " minds and bodies; and expect the accustomed "donative on the accession of a new empe-" ror (25)." The aftonished troops, with a mixture of pride, of fatisfaction, and of terror confessed the voice of their master. Their angry clamours subsided into filent reverence; and Valentinian, encompassed with the eagles of the legions, and the various banners of the cavalry and infantry; was conducted, in warlike pomp, to the palace of Nice. As he was fenfible, however, of the importance of preventing some rash declaration of the soldiers, he confulted the affembly of the chiefs: and their real fentiments were concifely expressed by the generous freedom of Dagalaiphus. " Most excel-" lent prince," faid that officer, " if you con-" fider only your family, you have a brother; " if you love the republic, look round for the " most

⁽²⁵⁾ Valentinian's first speech is full in Ammianus (xxvi. 2.); consile and sententious in Philostorgius (1. viii. c. 8.).

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" most delerving of the Romans (26)." emperor, who suppressed his displeasure, without altering his intention, flowly proceeded from Nice to Nicomedia and Constantinople. In And affocione of the suburbs of that capital (27), thirty ates his brodays after his own elevation, he bestowed the A. D. 364. title of Augustus on his brother Valens; and as March 28, the boldest patriots were convinced, that their opposition, without being ferviceable to their country, would be fatal to themselves, the declaration of his absolute will was received with filent submission. Valens was now in the thirtyfixth year of his age; but his abilities had never been exercised in any employment, military or civil; and his character had not inspired the world with any fanguine expectations. He posfelled, however, one quality, which recommended him to Valentinian, and preserved the domestic peace of the empire; a devout and grateful attachment to his benefactor, whose superiority, of genius, as well as, of authority, Valens humbly and cheerfully acknowledged in every action of his life (28).

Before Valentinian divided the provinces, he The final direformed the administration of the empire. All vision of the ranks of subjects, who had been injured or op-western empressed under the reign of Julian, were invited res, to support their public accusations. The silence A. D. 364, June. of mankind attested the spotless integrity of the

præfect

⁽²⁶⁾ Si tuos, amas, Imperator optime, habes fratrem; si Rempublicam, quære quem vestias. Ammian. xxvi. 4. In the division of the empire. Valentinian retained that sincere counsellor for himself (c. 6.).

⁽²⁷⁾ In suburbano, Ammian. xxvi. 4. The samous Hebdomon, or field of Mars, was distant from Constantinople either seven stadia, or seven miles. See Valesus and his brother, ad loc. and Ducange, Const. 1. ii. P. 140, 141. 172, 173.

⁽²⁸⁾ Participem quidem legitimum potestatis; sed in modum appantoris morigerum, ut progrediens aperiet textus. Ammian. xxvi. 4.

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præfect Sallust (29); and his own pressing solicitations, that he might be permitted to retire from the business of the state, were rejected by Valentinian with the most honourable expressions of friendship and esteem. But among the favourites of the late emperor, there were many who had abused his credulity or superstition and who could no longer hope to be protected either by favour or justice (30). The greater part of the ministers of the palace, and the governors of the provinces, were removed from their respective stations; yet the eminent ment of some officers was diftinguished from the obnoxious crowd; and, notwithstanding the oppolite clamours of zeal and resentment, the whole proceedings of this delicate enquiry appear to have been conducted with a reasonable share of wisdom and moderation (31). The festivity of a new reign received a short and suspicious interruption, from the fudden illness of the two princes: but as foon as their health was restored, they left Constantinople in the beginning of the fpring. In the caftle or palace of Mediana, only three miles from Naissus, they executed the folemn and final division of the Roman empire (32). Valentinian bestowed on his brother the rich præ-

⁽²⁹⁾ Notwithstanding the evidence of Zonarus, Suidas, and the Paschal Chronicle, M. de Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom v. p. 671.) wishes to disbelieve these stories si avantageuses à un payen.

⁽²⁰⁾ Eunapius celebrates and exaggerates the sufferings of Maximus (p. 82, 83.): yet he allows, that this sophist or magician, the guilty savourite of Julian, and the personal enemy of Valentinian, was different on the payment of a small sine.

⁽³¹⁾ The loose affertions of a general disgrace (Zosimus, l. iv. p. 201.) are detected and refuted by Tillemont (tom. v. p. 21.).

⁽³²⁾ Ammianus, xxvi. g.

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præfecture of the East, from the Lower Danube to the confines of Persia; whilst he reserved for his immediate government the warlike præfectures of Illyricum, Italy, and Gaul, from the extremity of Greece to the Caledonian rampart; and from the rampart of Caledonia, to the foot of The provincial administration re-Mount Atlas. mained on its former balis; but a double supply of generals and magistrates was required for two councils, and two courts: the division was made with a just regard to their peculiar merit and fituation, and feven mafter-generals were foon created, either of the cavalry or infantry. When this important business had been amicably tranfacted, Valentinian and Valens embraced for the last time. The emperor of the West established his temporary residence at Milan; and the emperor of the East returned to Constantinople, to assume the dominion of fifty provinces, of whole language he was totally ignorant (33).

The tranquility of the East was soon disturbed Revolt of by rebellion; and the throne of Valens was Procopius. threatened by the daring attempts of a rival, September whose affinity to the emperor Julian (34) was his 28fole merit, and had been his only crime. Procopius had been hastily promoted from the ob-

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(33) Ammianus says, in general terms, subagrestis ingenii, nec bellieis nec liberalibus studiis eruditus. Ammian. xxxi. 14. The orator Themistius, with the genuine impertinence of a Greek, wished, for the first time, to speak the Latin language, the dialect of his sovereign, THI diaherte xeatseav. Orat. vi. p. 71.

(34) The uncertain degree of alliance, or confanguinity, is expressed by the words ave vios, cognatus, consobrinus (See Valesius ad Ammian. min. 3.). The mother of Procopius might be a fifter of Bafilina, and Count Julian, the mother and uncle of the apostate. Ducange, Fam.

Byrantin. p. 49.

scure station of a tribune, and a notary, to the joint command of the army of Mesopotamia; the public opinion already named him as the fuccessor of a prince who was destitute of natural heirs; and a vain rumour was propogated by his friends, or his enemies, that Julian, before the altar of the Moon, at Carrhæ, had privately invested Procopius with the Imperial purple (35). He endeavoured, by his dutiful and fubmillive behaviour, to difarm the jealoufy of Jovian; refigned, without a contest, his military command; and retired, with his wife and family, to cultivate the ample patrimony which he poffeffed in These useful and the province of Cappadocia. innocent occupations were interrupted by the appearance of an officer, with a band of foldiers, who, in the name of his new fovereigns, Valentinian and Valens, was dispatched to conduct the unfortunate Procopius, either to a perpetual prison; or an ignominious death. His presence of mind procured him a longer respite, and a more splendid fate. Without presuming to dispute the royal mandate, he requested the indulgence of a few moments, to embrace his weeping family; and, while the vigilance of his guards was relaxed by a plentiful entertainment, he dexterously escaped to the sea-coast of the Euxine, from whence he passed over to the country of Bosphorus. In that sequestered region he remained many months, exposed to the hardships of exile, of solitude, and of want; his melancholy temper brooding over his misfor-

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⁽³⁵⁾ Ammian. xxiii. 3. xxvi. 6. He mentions the report with much hefitation: fufurravit obscurior fama, nemo enim dicti auctor exsiiit verus. It serves, however, to mark, that Procopius was a pagan-Yet his religion does not appear to have promoted, or obstructed, his pretensions.

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a paganucted, his tunes, and his mind agitated by the just apprehension, that, if any accident should discover his name, the faithless Barbarians would violate, without much scruple, the laws of hospitality. In a moment of impatience and despair, Procopius embarked in a merchant vessel, which made fail for Constantinople; and boldly aspired to the rank of a fovereign, because he was not allowed to enjoy the fecurity of a subject. first he lurked in the villages of Bithynia, continually changing his habitation, and his difguife (36). By degrees he ventured into the capital, trusted his life and fortune to the fidelity of two friends, a fenator and an eunuch, and conceived fome hopes of fuccess, from the intelligence which he obtained of the actual state of public affairs. The body of the people was infected with a spirit of discontent: they regretted the justice and the abilities of Sallust, who had been imprudently dismissed from the præfecture of the East. They despised the character of Valens, which was rude without vigour, They dreaded the and feeble without mildness. influence of his father-in-law, the Patrician Petronius, a cruel and rapacious minister, who rigoroufly exacted all the arrears of tribute, that might remain unpaid fince the reign of the emperor Aurelian. The circumstances were propitious to the defigns of an usurper. The hoftile measures of the Persians required the presence of Valens in Syria: from the Danube to the Euphrates

⁽³⁶⁾ One of his retreats was a country-house of Eunomius, the hetetic. The master was absent, innocent, ignorant; yet he narrowly sleaped a sentence of death, and was banished into the remote parts of Mauritania (Philostorg. 1. ix. c. 5. 8. and Godefroy's Dissert. p. 369—378.).

phrates the troops were in motion; and the capital was occasionally filled with the soldiers who passed, or repassed, the Thracian Bosphorus. Two cohorts of Gauls were perfuaded to liften to the fecret proposals of the conspirators; which were recommended by the promife of a liberal donative; and, as they still revered the memory of Julian, they eafily confented to support the hereditary claim of his profcribed kinfman. the dawn of day they were drawn up near the baths of Anastasia; and Procopius, clothed in a purple garment, more suitable to a player than to a monarch, appeared, as if he rose from the dead, in the midst of Constantinople, foldiers, who were prepared for his reception, faluted their trembling prince with shouts of joy, Their numbers were foon and vows of fidelity. increased by a sturdy band of peasants, collected from the adjacent country; and Procopius, shielded by the arms of his adherents, was successively conducted to the tribunal, the senate, and the palace. During the first moments of his tumultuous reign, he wasaftonished and terrified by the gloomy filence of the people; who were either ignorant of the cause, or apprehensive of the event. But his military strength was superior to any actual refiftance: the malecontents flocked to the standard of rebellion; the poor were excited by the hopes, and the rich were intimidated by the fear, of a general pillage; and the obstinate credulity of the multitude was once more deceived by the promifed advantages of a revolution. The magistrates were seized; the prisons and arfenals broke open; the gates, and the entrance of the harbour, were diligently occupied; and, in a few hours, Procopius became the absolute, though precarious, mafter of ca-

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the Imperial city. The usurper improved this unexpected fuccess with some degree of courage and dexterity. He artfully propagated the rumours and opinions the most favourable to his interest; while he deluded the populace by giving audience to the frequent, but imaginary, ambassadors of distant nations. The large bodies of troops stationed in the cities of Thrace, and the fortresses of the Lower Danube, were gradually involved in the guilt of rebellion: and the Gothic princes consented to supply the fovereign of Constantinople with the formidable strength of feveral thousand auxiliaries. generals passed the Bosphorus, and subdued, without an effort, the unarmed, but wealthy, provinces of Bithynia and Asia. After an honourable defence, the city and island of Cyzicus yielded to his power; the renowned legions of the Jovians and Herculians embraced the cause of the usurper, whom they were ordered to crush; and, as the veterans were continually augmented with new levies, he foon appeared at the head of an army, whose valour, as well as numbers, were not unequal to the greatness of The fon of Horsmidas (37), a the contest. youth of spirit and ability, condescended to draw his fword against the lawful emperor of the East; and the Persian prince was immediately invested with the ancient and extraordinary powers of a Roman Proconful. The alliance of Faustina.

⁽³⁷⁾ Horsmidæ maturo juveni Horsmidæ regalis illuis filio, potestatem Proconsulis detulit; et civilia, more veterum, et bella, recturo. Ammian xxvi. 8. The Persian prince escaped with honour and safety, and was afterwards (A. D. 380.) restored to the same extraordinary office of proconsul of Bithynia (Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 204.). I am ignorant whether the race of Sassian was propagated. I find (A. D. 514.) a pope Hormisdas; but he was a native of Frusino, in Italy (Pagi. Brev. Pontific. tom. i. p. 247.).

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Faustina, the widow of the emperor Constantius, who entrusted herself, and her daughter, to the hands of the usurper, added dignity and reputation to his cause. The princess Constantia, who was then about five years of age, accompanied, in a litter, the march of the army. She was shewn to the multitude in the arms of her adopted father; and, as often as she passed through the ranks, the tenderness of the soldiers was instanted into martial fury (38): they recollecteded the glories of the house of Constantine, and they declared, with loyal acclamation, that they would shed the last drop of their blood in the defence of the royal infant (39).

His defeat and death, A. D. 366. May 28.

In the mean while, Valentinian was alarmed and perplexed, by the doubtful intelligence of the revolt of the East. The difficulties of a German war forced him to confine his immediate care to the fafety of his own dominions; and, as every channel of communication was stopt or corrupted, he listened, with doubtful anxiety, to the rumours which were industriously spread; that the defeat and death of Valens had left Procopius fole master of the eastern provinces. Valens was not dead: but, on the news of the rebellion, which he received at Cæfarea, he basely despaired of his life and fortune; proposed to negociate with the usurper, and discovered his fecret inclination to abdicate the Impe-The timid monarch was faved rial purple. from difgrace and ruin by the firmness of his ministers,

(38) The infant rebel was afterwards the wife of the emperor Gratian; but she died young and childless. See Ducange, Fam. Byzantin. p. 48. 49.

⁽³⁹⁾ Sequimini culminis summi prosapiam, was the language of Procopius; who affected to despise the obscure birth, and fortuitous election of the upstart Pannonian. Ammian. xxvi. 7.

ministers, and their abilities soon decided in his favour the event of the civil war. In a feafon of tranquility, Sallust had refigned without a murmur; but as foon as the public fafety was attacked, he ambitiously folicited the pre-eminence of toil and danger; and the restoration of that virtuous minister to the præfecture of the East, was the first step which indicated the repentance of Valens, and satisfied the minds of the people. The reign of Procopius was apparently supported by powerful armies, and obedient provinces. But many of the principal officers, military as well as civil, had been urged, either by motives of duty or interest, to withdraw themselves from the guilty scene; or to watch the moment of betraying, and deferting, the cause of the usurper. Lupicinus advanced by hafty marches, to bring the legions of Syria to the aid of Valens. Arintheus, who, in firength, beauty, and valour, excelled all the heroes of the age, attacked with a small troop a superior body of the rebels. When he beheld the faces of the foldiers who had ferved under his banner, he commanded them, with a loud voice, to feize and deliver up their pretended leader; and fuch was the ascendant of his genius, that this extraordinary order was instantly obeyed (40). Arbetio, a respectable veteran of the great Constantine, who had been distinguished by the honours of the confulship, was persuaded

⁽⁴⁰⁾ Et dedignatus hominem superare cartamine despicabilem, auctoritatis et celsi siducià corporis, ipsis hostibus justit, suum vineire rectorem: acque ita turmarum antesignanus umbratilis comprensus suorum
manibus. The strength and beauty of Arintheus, the new Hercules,
are celebrated by St. Basil; who supposes that God had created him as
an inimitable model of the human species. The painters and sculptors
could not express his sigure: the historians appeared fabulous when they
scaled his exploits (Ammian, xxvi. and Vales. ad loc.).

to leave his retirement, and once more to con. duct an army into the field. In the heat of action, calmly taking off his helmet, he shewed his grey hairs, and venerable countenance; faluted the foldiers of Procopius by the endearing names of children and companions, and exhorted them, no longer to support the desperate cause of a contemptible tyrant; but to follow their old commander, who had fo often led them to honour and victory. In the two engagements of Thyatira (41) and Nacosia, the unfortunate Procopius was deferted by his troops, who were feduced by the instructions and example of their perfidious officers. After wandering some time among the woods and mountains of Phrygia, he was betrayed by his desponding followers, conducted to the Imperial camp, and immediately beheaded. He suffered the ordinary fate of an unfuccessful usurper; but the acts of cruelty which were exercised by the conqueror, under the forms of legal justice, excited the pity and indignation of mankind (42).

Severe inquisition into of despotism and rebellion. But the inquisition the crime of into the crime of magic, which, under the reign magic at Rome and of the two brothers, was so rigorously prosecut-Antioch, ed both at Rome and Antioch, was interpreted as the symptom, either of the displeasure of hea-

en.

(41) The same field of battle is placed by Ammianus in Lycia, and by Zosimus at Thyatira; which are at the distance of 150 miles from each other. But Thyatira alluitur Lyco (Plin. Hist. Natur. v. 31, Cellarius, Geograph. Antiq. tom. ii. p. 79.); and the transcribers might easily convert an obscure river into a well-known province.

(42) The adventurers, usurpation, and fall of Procopius, are related in a regular series, by Ammianus (xxvi. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.) and Zosenus (l. iv. p. 203-210.). They often illustrate, and seldom contradict, each other. Themistius (Orat. vii. p. 91, 92.) adds some base panergyric; and Eunapius (p. 83, 84) some malicious satire.

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ven, or, of the depravity of mankind (43). Let us not hesitate to indulge a liberal pride, that, in the present age, the enlightened part of Europe has abolished (44) a cruel and odious prejudice, which reigned in every climate of the globe, and adhered to every fystem of religious opinions (45). The nations, and the fects, of the Roman world, admitted with equal credulity, and fimilar abhorrence, the reality of that infernal art (46), which was able to controul the eternal order of the planets, and the operations of the human mind. voluntary They dreaded the mysterious power of spells and incantations, of potent herbs, and execrable rites; which could extinguish or recall life, inflame the passions of the soul, blast the works of creation, and extort from the reluctant dæmons the fecrets of futurity. They believed. with the wildest inconsistency, that this præternatural dominion of the air, of earth, and of hell, was exercised, from the vilest motives of malice or gain, by some wrinkled hags, and iti-Vol. IV.

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(43) Libanius de ulciscend. Julian. nece, c. ix. p. 158, 159. The sohist deplores the public frenzy, but he does not (after their deaths) imeach the justice of the emperors.

(44) The French and English lawyers, of the present age, allow the bery, and deny the practice, of witchcraft (Denisart, Recueil de Decisions de Jurisprudence, au mot Sorciers, tom. iv. p. 553. Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. iv. p. 60). As private reason always prevents, or autstrips, public wisdom, the president Montesquieu (Esprit des Loix, xii. c. 5, 6.) rejects the existence of magic.

(45) See Oeuvres de Bayle, tom. iii. p. 567-589. The sceptic of lotterdam exhibits, according to his custom, a strange medley of loose towledge, and lively wit.

(46) The pagans diftinguished between good and bad magic, the Theurgic and the Goetic (Hist. de l'Academie, &c. tom. vii. p. 25.). but they could not have desended this obscure distinction against the toute logic of Bayle. In the Jewish and Christian system, all demons at infernal spirits; and all commerce with them is idolatry, apostacy, to which deserves death and damnation.

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nerant forcerers, who passed their obscure lives in penury and contempt (47). The arts of magic were equally condemned by the public opinion, and by the laws of Rome; but as they tended to gratify the most imperious passions of the heart of man, they were continually profcribed, and continually practifed (48). An imaginary cause is capable of producing the most ferious and mischievous effects. The dark predictions of the death of an emperor, or the fuccess of a conspiracy, were calculated only to stimulate the hopes of ambition, and to dissolve the ties of fidelity; and the intentional guilt of magic was aggravated by the actual crimes of treason and sacrilege (49). Such vain terrors diflurbed the peace of fociety, and the happinels of individuals; and the harmless flame which infenfibly melted a waxen image, might derive a powerful and pernicious energy from the affrighted fancy of the person whom it was malicloully

(47) The Canidia of Horace (Carm. 1. v. od. 5. with Dacier's and Sanadon's illustrations) is a vulgar witch. The Erictho of Lucan (Pharfal. vi. 430—830.) is tedious, disgusting, but sometimes sublime. She chides the delay of the Furies; and threatens, with tremendous obscurity, to pronounce their real names; to reveal the true infernal countenance of Hecate; to invoke the secret powers that lie below hell, &c.

(48) Genus hominum potentibus infidum, sperantibus fallax, quod in civitate nostra et vetabitur semper et retinebitur. Tacit. Hist. i. 22. See Augustin. de Civitate Dei, l. viii. c. 19. and the Theodosian Code, l. ix. tit. xvi. with Godefroy's Commentary.

(49) The perfecution of Antioch was occasioned by a criminal consultation. The twenty-sour letters of the alphabet were arranged round a magic tripod; and a dancing ring, which had been placed in the centre, pointed to the four first letters in the name of the suture emperor, Θ. Ε. Ο. Δ. Theodorus (perhaps with many others who owned the fatal syllables) was executed. Theodosius succeeded. Lardner (Heathen testimonies, vol. iv. p. 353—372.) has copiously and fairly examined this dark transaction of the reign of Valens.

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coully defigned to represent (50). From the infusion of those herbs, which were supposed to possess a supernatural influence, it was an easy step to the use of more substantial poison; and the folly of mankind fometimes became the infrument, and the mask, of the most atrocious crimes. As foon as the zeal of informers was encouraged by the ministers of Valens and Valentinian, they could not refuse to listen to another charge, too frequently mingled in the scenes of domestic guilt; a charge of a softer and less malignant nature, for which the pious, though excessive rigour of Constantine had recently deneed the punishment of death (51). This deady and incoherent mixture of treason and magic, f poison and adultery, afforded infinite gradatons of guilt and innocence, of excuse and aggavation, which in these proceedings appear to have been confounded by the angry or corrupt They eafily discovered, passions of the judges. hat the degree of their industry and discernment was estimated, by the Imperial court, acording to the number of executions that were urnished from their respective tribunals. of without extreme reluctance that they proounced a fentence of acquittal; but they eageradmitted fuch evidence as was stained with erjury, or procured by torture, to prove the loft improbable charges against the most respectable

(50) Limus ut hic durescit, et hæc ut cera liquescit

Virgil. Bucolic. viii. 80.

Devovit absentes, simulacraque cerea figit.

Ovid, in Epist. Hypsil. ad Jason. 91.

Such vain incantations could affect the mind, and increase the disease, Germanicus. Tacit. Annal. ii. 69.

(51) See Heineccius Antiquitat. Juris Roman. tom. ii. p. 353, &c. d. Theodosian. l. ix. tit. 7. with Godefroy's Commentary.

table characters. The progress of the enquiry continually opened new subjects of criminal profecution: the audacious informer, whose false. hood was detected, retired with impunity; but the wretched victim, who discovered his real, or pretended, accomplices, was feldom permitted to receive the price of his infamy. From the extremity of Italy and Asia, the young, and the aged, were dragged in chains to the tribunals of Rome and Antioch. Senators, matrons, and philosophers, expired in ignominious and cruel tortures. The foldiers, who were appointed to guard the prisons, declared, with a murmur of pity and indignation, that their numbers were infufficient to oppose the flight, or resistance, of the multitude of captives. The wealthieft families were ruined by fines and confifcations; the most innocent citizens trembled for their safety; and we may form fome notion of the magnitude of the evil, from the extravagant affertion of an ancient writer, that, in the obnoxious provinces, the prisoners, the exiles, and the fugitives, formed the greatest part of the inhabitants (52).

The cruelty When Tacitus describes the deaths of the inof Valentinian and Valens. ficed to the cruelty of the first Cæsars, the art
A. D. 364—of the historian, or the merit of the sufferers,
excite in our breasts the most lively sensations of
terror, of admiration, and of pity. The coarse

(52) The cruel perfecution of Rome and Antioch is described, and most probably exaggerated, by Ammianus (xxviii. 1. xxix. 1, 2.) and Zosimus (l. iv. p. 216—218.). The philosopher Maximus, with some justice, was involved in the charge of magic (Eunapius in Vit. Sophist. p. 88, 89); and young Chrysostom, who had accidentally found one of the proscribed books, gave himself for lost (Tillement, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. 4, p. 340.).

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and undiffinguishing pencil of Ammianus has delineated his bloody figures with tedious and difgusting accuracy. But as our attention is no longer engaged by the contrast of freedom and servitude, of recent greatness and of actual mifery, we should turn with horror from the frequent executions, which difgraced, both at Rome and Antioch, the reign of the two brothers (53). Valens was of a timid (54), and Valentinian of a choleric, disposition (55). An anxious regard to his personal safety was the ruling principle of the administration of Valens. In the condition of a subject he had kissed, with trembling awe, the hand of the oppressor: and when he ascended the throne, he reasonably expected, that the same fears, which had subdued his own mind, would fecure the patient submission of his people. The favourites of Valens obtained, by the privilege of rapine and confiscation, the wealth which his occonomy would have reful-They urged, with persualive eloquence, ed (56). that, in all cases of treason, suspicion is equivalent to proof; that the power, supposes the intention.

(53) Confult the fix last books of Ammianus, and more particularly he portraits of the two royal brothers (xxx. 8, 9. xxxi. 14.). Tillemont as collected (tom. v. p. 12-18. p. 127-133.) from all antiquity their irtues and vices.

(54) The younger Victor afferts, that he was valde timidus: yet he chaved, as almost every man would do, with decent resolution at the and of an army. The same historian attempts to prove, that his anger as harmless. Ammianus observes, with more candour and judgment, cidentia crimina ad contemptam vel læsam principis amplitudinem mhens, in sanguinem sæviebat.

(55) Cum esset ad acerbitatem naturæ calore propensior . . . pænas

frignes augebat et gladios. Ammian. xxx. 8. See xxvii. 7.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ I have transferred the reproach of avarice from Valens to his ferants. Avarice more properly belongs to ministers than to kings; in hom that passion is commonly extinguished by absolute possession.

tention, of mischief; that the intention is not less criminal than the act; and that a subject, no longer deserves to live, if his life may threaten the lafety, or diffurb the repose, of his sovereign. The judgment of Valentinian was sometimes deceived, and his confidence abused; but he would have filenced the informers with a contemptuous smile, had they presumed to alarm his fortitude by the found of danger. They praised his inflexible love of justice; and, in the pursuit of justice, the emperor was easily tempted to confider clemency as a weakness, and pattion as a virtue. As long as he wrestled with his equals, in the bold competition of an active and ambitious life, Valentinian was feldom injured, and never infulted, with impunity: if his prudence was arraigned, his spirit was applauded; and the proudest and most powerful generals were apprehensive of provoking the resentment of fearless soldier. After he became master of the world, he unfortunately forgot, that where no refistance can be made, no courage can be exerted; and instead of consulting the dictates of reason and magnanimity, he indulged the surous emotions of his temper, at a time when the were difgraceful to himself, and fatal to the defenceless objects of his displeasure. In the go vernment of his household, or of his empire flight, or even imaginary, offences; a haft word, a cafual omission, an involuntary delay were chaftised by a sentence of immediate death The expressions which issued the most readily from the mouth of the emperor of the Wel were, "Strike off his head;" " burn him alive; " let him be beaten with clubs till he expire

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(57);" and his most favoured ministers soon understood, that, by a rash attempt, to dispute, or fuspend, the execution of his sanguinary commands, they might involve themselves in the guilt and punishment of disobedience. The repeated gratification of this savage justice hardened the mind of Valentinian against pity and remorfe; and the fallies of passion were confirmed by the habits of cruelty (58). He could behold with calm fatisfaction the convulfive agonies of torture and death: he reserved his friendship for those faithful servants whose temper was the The merit of Maximost congenial to his own. min, who had flaughtered the noblest families of Rome, was rewarded with the royal approbation, and the præfecture of Gaul. Two fierce and enormous bears, distinguished by the appellations of Innocence and Mica Aurea, could alone deserve to share the favour of Maximin. cages of those trusty guards were always placed near the bed-chamber of Valentinian, who frequently amused his eyes with the grateful spectacle of feeing them tear and devour the bleeding limbs of the malefactors, who were aban-Their diet and exercises doned to their rage. were carefully inspected by the Roman empefor; and when Innocence had earned her discharge,

(57) He sometimes expressed a sentence of death with a tone of pleasantry; "Abi, Comes, et muta ei caput, qui sibi mutari provin"ciam cupit." A boy who had slipped too hastily a Spartan hound; an armourer, who had made a polished cuirass that wanted some grains of the legitimate weight, &c. were the victims of his sury.

(58) The innocents of Milan were an agent and three apparitors, whom Valentinian condemned for fignifying a legal fummons. Ammianus (xxvii. 7.) strangely supposes, that all who had been unjustly executed were worshipped as martyrs by the Christians. His impartial silence does not allow us to believe, that the great chamberlain Rhodanus was burnt alive for an act of oppression (Chron. Paschal. p. 302.).

by a long course of meritorious service, the faithful animal was again restored to the freedom

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Their laws and government.

But in the calmer moments of reflection, when the mind of Valens was not agitated by fear, or that of Valentinian by rage, the tyrant refumed the fentiments, or at least the conduct, of the The dispassionate judgfather of his country. ment of the Western emperor could clearly perceive, and accurately purfue, his own and the public interest; and the sovereign of the East, who imitated with equal docility the various examples which he received from his elder brother, was fometimes guided by the wisdom and virtue of the præfect Sallust. Both princes invariably retained, in the purple, the chafte and temperate implicity which had adorned their private life; and, under their reign, the pleasures of the court never cost people a blush or a figh. They gradually reformed many of the abuses of the times of Constantius; judiciously adopted and approved the designs of Julian and his succeffor; and displayed a ftyle and spirit of legiflation which might inspire posterity with the most favourable opinion of their character and government. It is not from the mafter of Innocence, that we should expect the tender regard for the welfare of his subjects, which prompted Valentinian to condemn the exposition of newborn infants (60); and to establish fourteen skil-

(59) Ut bene meritam in sylvas justit abire Innoxiam. Ammian. XXIX. 3. and Valesius ad locum.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ See the Code of Justinian, l. viii, tit. lii. leg. 2. Unusquisque sobolem suam nutriat. Quod si exponendam putaverit animadversioni que constituta est subjacebit. For the present I shall not interfere in the dispute between Noodt and Binkershoek; how far, or how long, this unnatural practice had been condemned or abolished by law, philosophy, and the more civilised state of society.

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ful phylicians, with stipends and privileges, in the fourteen quarters of Rome. The good sense of an illiterate soldier founded an useful and liberal institution for the education of youth, and the support of declining science (61). was his intention, that the arts of rhetoric and grammar should be taught, in the Greek and Latin languages, in the metropolis of every province; and as the fize and dignity of the school was usually proportioned to the importance of the city, the academies of Rome and Constantinople claimed a just and fingular pre-eminence. The fragments of the literary edicts of Valentinian imperfectly represent the school of Conflantinople, which was gradually improved by That school consisted subsequent regulations. of thirty-one professors in different branches of learning. One philosopher, and two lawyers; tive tophilts, and ten grammarians for the Greek. and three orators, and ten grammarians for the Latin tongue; besides seven scribes, or, as they were then thyled antiquarians, whose laborious pens supplied the public library with fair and correct copies of the classic writers. The rule of conduct, which was prescribed to the students, is the more curious, as it affords the first outlines of the form and discipline of a modern university. It was required, that they should bring proper certificates from the magnitrates of their native province. Their names, protestions, and places of abode, were regularly entered in a public

⁽⁶¹⁾ These salutary institutions are explained in the Theodosian Code, I. xiii. tit. iii. De Prosessorius et Medicis, and I. xiv. tit. ix. De Studiis liberalibus Urbis Romæ. Besides our usual guide (Godefroy), we may consult Gianone (Istoria di Napoli, tom. i. p. 105—121.), who has treated the interesting subject with the zeal and curiosity of a man of letters, who studies his domestic history.

public register. The studious youth were severely prohibited from wasting their time in feafts, or in the theatre: and the term of their education was limited to the age of twenty. The præfect of the city was empowered to chastife the idle and refractory, by stripes or expulfion; and he was directed to make an annual report to the mafter of the offices, that the knowledge and abilities of the scholars might be usefully applied to the public service. The institutions of Valentinian contributed to fecure the benefits of peace and plenty: and the cities were guarded by the establishment of the Defensors (62); freely elected as the tribunes and advocates of the people, to support their rights, and to expose their grievances, before the tribunals of the civil magistrates, or even at the foot of the Imperial throne. The finances were diligently administered by two princes, who had been so long accustomed to the rigid œconomy of a private fortune; but in the receipt and application of the revenue, a difcerning eye might observe some difference between the government of the East and of the West. Valens was perfuaded, that royal liberality can be supplied only by public oppression; and his ambition never aspired to secure, by their actual distress, the future strength and prosperity of his people. Initead of increasing the weight of taxes, which, in the space of forty years, had been gradually doubled, he reduced, in the first years of his reign, one-fourth of the tribute of the East (63). Valentinian

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(62) Cod. Theodof. 1. i. tit. xi. with Godefroy's Paratition, which diligently gleans from the rest of the code.

⁽⁶³⁾ Three lines of Ammianus (xxxi. 14.) countenance a whole oration of Themistius (viii. p. 101—120), full of adulation, pedantry, and common-place morality. The eloquent M. Thomas (tom. i. p. 366—396.) has amused himself with celebrating the virtues and genius of Themistius, who was not unworthy of the age in which he lived.

Valentinian appears to have been less attentive and less anxious to relieve the burthens of his people. He might reform the abuses of the fiscal administration; but he exacted, without scruple, a very large share of the private property; as he was convinced, that the revenues, which supported the luxury of individuals, would be much more advantageously employed for the defence and improvement of the state. The subjects of the East, who enjoyed the present benefit, applauded the indulgence of their prince. The solid, but less splendid, merit of Valentinian was felt and acknowledged by the subsequent generation (64).

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But the most honourable circumstance of the Valentinian character of Valentinian, is the firm and tempe-maintains rate impartiality which he uniformly preserved in toleration. an age of religious contention. His strong sense, A.D. 364unenlightened, but uncorrupted, by fludy, de-375. clined, with respectful indifference, the subtle questions of theological debate. The government of the Earth claimed his vigilance, and fatisfied his ambition; and while he remembered, that he was the disciple of the church, he never forgot that he was the fovereign of the clergy. Under the reign of an apostate, he had signalized his zeal for the honour of Christianity: he allowed to his subjects the privilege which he had assumed for himself; and they might accept, with gratitude and confidence, the general toleration which was granted by a prince, addicted to passion, but incapable of fear or of disguile

⁽⁶⁴⁾ Zosimus, I. iv. p. 202. Ammian. xxx. 9. His reformation of costly abuses might entitle him to the praise of, in provinciales admodum parcus, tributorum ubique molliens farcinas. By some his frugality was thyled avarice (Jerom. Chron. p. 186.).

The Pagans, the Jews, and all the various fects which acknowledged the divine authority of Christ, were protected by the laws from arbitrary power or popular infult; nor was any mode of worship prohibited by Valentinian, except those secret and criminal practises, which abused the name of religion for the dark purposes of vice and disorder. The art of magic, as it was more cruelly punished, was more strictly profcribed; but the emperor admitted a formal distinction to protect the ancient methods of divination, which were approved by the senate, and exercised by the Tuscan haruspices. had condemned, with the confent of the most rational Pagans, the licence of nocturnal facrifices; but he immediately admitted the petition of Prætextatus, proconful of Achaia, who represented, that the life of the Greeks would become dreary and comfortless, if they were deprived of the invaluable bleffing of the Eleufinian mysteries. Philosophy alone can boast (and perhaps it is no more than the boast of philosophy), that her gentle hand is able to eradicate from the human mind the latent and deadly principle of But this truce of twelve years, which fanaticism. was enforced by the wife and vigorous government of Valentinian, by suspending the repetition of mutual injuries, contributed to fosten the manners, and abate the prejudices, of the religious factions.

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⁽⁶⁵⁾ Testes sunt leges a me in exordio Imperii mei datæ: quibus unicuique quod animo imbibisset colendi libera facultas tributa est. Cod. Theodos. I. ix. tit. xvi. leg. 9. To this declaration of Valentinian, we may add the various testimonies of Ammianus (xxx. 9.), Zosimus (l. iv. p. 204.), and Sozomen (l. vi. c. 7. 21.). Baronius would naturally blame such rational toleration (Annal, Eccles. A. D. 370. No. 129—132. A. D. 376. No. 3, 4).

The friend of toleration was unfortunately Valens proplaced at a distance from the scene of the fiercest fesses Ariancontroverlies. As foon as the Christians of the secutes the West had extricated themselves from the snares A. D. 367of the creed of Rimini, they happily relapsed 378. into the flumber of orthodoxy; and the small remains of the Arian party, that still sublisted at Sirmium or Milan, might be confidered, rather as objects of contempt than of refentment. But in the provinces of the East, from the Euxine to the extremity of Thebais, the strength and numbers of the hostile factions were more equally balanced; and this equality, instead of recommending the counsels of peace, served only to perpetuate the horrors of religious war. The monks and bishops supported their arguments by invectives; and their invectives were fometimes followed by blows. Athanafius still reigned at Alexandria; the thrones of Constantinople and Antioch were occupied by Arian prelates. and every episcopal vacancy was the occasion of a popular tumult. The Homoousians were fortified by the reconciliation of fifty-nine Macedonian, or Semi-Arian, bishops; but their fecret reluctance to embrace the divinity of the Holy Ghoft, clouded the splendour of the triumph: and the declaration of Valens, who, in the first years of his reign, had imitated the impartial conduct of his brother, was an important victory on the fide of Arianism. The two brothers had passed their private life in the condition of catechumens; but the piety of Valens prompted him to folicit the facrament of baptilm, before he exposed his person to the dangers of a Gothic war. He naturally addressed himfelf

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felf to Eudoxus (66), bishop of the Imperial city; and if the ignorant monarch was instructed by that Arian pastor in the principles of heterodox theology, his misfortune, rather than his guilt, was the inevitable consequence of his erroneous choice. Whatever had been the determination of the emperor, he must have offended a numerous party of his Christian subjects; as the leaders both of the Homogusians and of the Arians believed, that, if they were not suffered to reign, they were most cruelly injured and oppressed. After he had taken this decifive step, it was extremely difficult for him to preserve either the virtue, or the reputation, of impartiality. He never aspired, like Constantius, to the fame of a profound theologian; but, as he had received with fimplicity and respect the tenets of Eudoxus, Valens refigned his conscience to the direction of his ecclesiastical guides, and promoted, by the influence of his authority, the re-union of the Athanasian heretics to the body the catholic church. At first, he pitied their blindness; by degrees he was provoked at their obstinacy; and he insensibly hated those sectaries to whom he was an object of hatred (67). The feeble mind of Valens was always swayed by the persons with whom he familiarly converfed; and the exile or imprisonment of a private citizen are the favours the most readily granted in a defpotic court. Such punishments

(67) Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. xxv. p. 432.) infults the perfecuting foirit of the Arians, as an infallible symptom of error and heresy.

⁽⁶⁶⁾ Eudoxus was of a mild and timid disposition. When he baptized Valens (A. D. 367.), he must have been extremely old; since he had studied theology fifty-five years before, under Lucian, a learned and pious martyr. Philostorg. 1. ii. c. 14—16. l. iv. c. 4. with Godefroy, p. 82. 206. and Tillemont, Mem. Eccles. tom. v. p. 474—480, &c.

were frequently inflicted on the leaders of the Homooulian party; and the misfortune of fourscore ecclesiastics of Constantinople, who, perhaps accidentally, were burnt on ship-board, was imputed to the cruel and premeditated malice of the emperor, and his Arian ministers. every contest, the catholics (if we may anticipate that name) were obliged to pay the penalty of their own faults, and of those of their adver-In every election, the claims of the Arian candidate obtained the preference; and if they were opposed by the majority of the people, he was usually supported by the authority of the civil magistrate, or even by the terrors of a mi-The enemies of Athanasius atlitary force. tempted to diffurb the last years of his venerable age; and his temporary retreat to his father's sepulchre has been celebrated as a fifth exile. But the zeal of a great people, who instantly flew to arms, intimidated the præfect; and the archbishop was permitted to end his life in peace and in glory, after a reign of forty-feven years. The death of Athanasius was the signal of the Death of persecution of Egypt; and the Pagan minister Athanasius, of Volence who foreibly footed the worthlose A. D 373. of Valens, who forcibly feated the worthless May 2d. Lucius on the archiepiscopal throne, purchased the favour of the reigning party by the blood and fufferings of their Christian brethren. free toleration of the heathen and Jewish worship was bitterly lamented, as a circumstance which aggravated the misery of the catholics, and the guilt of the impious tyrant of the East (68). The

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⁽⁶⁸⁾ This sketch of the ecclesiastical government of Valens is drawn from Socrates (1. iv.), Sozomen (1. vi.), Theodoret (1. iv.), and the immense compilations of Tillemont (particularly tom. vi. viii. and ix.).

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The triumph of the orthodox party has left a his persecu- deep stain of persecution on the memory of Valens: and the character of a prince who derived his virtues, as well as his vices, from a feeble understanding, and a pusillanimous temper, scarcely deserves the labour of an apology. Yet candour may discover some reasons to sufpect that the ecclefiaftical ministers of Valens often exceeded the orders, or even the intentions, of their master; and that the real measure of facts has been very liberally magnified by the vehement declamation and easy credulity of his I. The filence of Valentinian antagonists (69). may fuggest a probable argument, that the partial feverities, which were exercised in the name and provinces of his colleague, amounted only to fome obscure and inconsiderable deviations from the established system of religious toleration: and the judicious historian, who has praised the equal temper of the elder brother, has not thought himself obliged to contrast the tranquillity of the West with the cruel persecution of the East (70). 2. Whatever credit may be allowed to vague and distant reports, the character, or at least the behaviour, of Valens may be most distinctly seen in his personal transactions with the eloquent Basil, archbishop of Cæsarea, who had fucceeded Athanasius in the management

> (69) Dr. Jortin (Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. iv. p. 78.) has already conceived and intimated the same suspicion.

⁽⁷⁰⁾ This reflexion is so obvious and forcible, that Orosius (l. vii. c. 32, 33.) delays the persecution till after the death of Valentinian. Socrates, on the other hand, supposes (l. iii. c. 32.), that it was appealed by a philosophical oration, which Themistius pronounced in the year 374 (Orat. xii. p. 154. in Latin only). Such contradictions diminish the evidence, and reduce the term, of the perfecution of Valens.

ment of the Trinitarian cause (71). The circumstantial narrative has been composed by the friends and admirers of Basil; and as soon as we have stripped away a thick coat of rhetoric and miracle, we shall be astonished by the unexpected mildness of the Arian tyrant, who admired the firmness of his character, or was apprehensive, if he employed violence, of a general revolt in the province of Cappadocia. archbishop, who afferted, with inflexible pride (72), the truth of his opinions, and the dignity of his rank, was left in the free possesfion of his conscience, and his throne. emperor devoutly affifted at the folemn fervice of the cathedral; and, instead of a sentence of banishment, subscribed the donation of a valuable estate for the use of an hospital, which Basil had lately founded in the neighbourhood of Cæsarea (73). 3. I am not able to discover. that any law (fuch as Theodofius afterwards enacted against the Arians) was published by Valens against the Athanasian sectaries; and the edict which excited the most violent clamours, may not appear so extremely reprehensible. VOL. IV. emperor

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⁽⁷¹⁾ Tillemont, whom I follow and abridge, has extracted (Mem. Ecclef. tom. viii. p. 153—167.) the most authentic circumstances from the Panegyrics of the two Gregories; the brother, and the friend, of Basil. The letters of Basil himself (Dupin, Bibliotheque Ecclesiastiques tom. ii. p. 155—180.) do not present the image of a very lively persecution.

⁽⁷² Basilius Cæsariensis episcopus Cappadociæ clasus habetur.... qui multa continentiæ et ingenii bona uno superbiæ malo perdidit. This inteverent passage is persectly in the style and character of St. Jerom. It does not appear in Scaliger's edition of his Chronicle; but Isaac Vossius sound it in some old MSS, which had not been resormed by the monks.

⁽⁷³⁾ This noble and charitable foundation (almost a new city) surpassed in merit, if not in greatness, the pyramids, or the walls of Babylon. It was principally intended for the reception of lepers. Greg. Nazianzen. Orat, xx. p. 439.

emperor had observed, that several of his subjects, gratifying their lazy disposition under the pretence of religion, had affociated themselves with the monks of Egypt; and he directed the count of the East to drag them from their solitude: and to compel those deserters of society to accept the fair alternative, of renouncing their temporal possessions, or of discharging the public duties of men and citizens (74). nifters of Valens feem to have extended the fense of this penal statute, since they claimed a right of enlifting the young and able-bodied monks in the Imperial armies. A detachment of cavalry and infantry, confifting of three thoufand men, marched from Alexandria into the adjacent desert of Nitria (75), which was peopled by five thousand monks. The foldiers were conducted by Arian priefts; and it is reported, that a confiderable flaughter was made in the monasteries which disobeyed the commands of their fovereign (76).

Valentinian

The strict regulations which have been framed restrains the by the wisdom of modern legislators to restrain the clergy. the wealth and avarice of the clergy, may be A. D. 370. originally deduced from the example of the em-

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⁽⁷⁴⁾ Cod. Theodof. 1. xii. tit. i. leg. 63. Godefroy (tom. iv. p. 409-413.) performs the duty of a commentator and advocate. Tillemont (Mem. Eccles. tom. viii p. 808.) supposes a second law to excuse his orthodox friends, who had misrepresented the edict of Valens, and suppressed the liberty of choice.

Hereafter I (75) See d'Anville, Description de l'Egypte, p. 74. shall consider the monastic institutions.

⁽⁷⁶⁾ Socrates, l. iv. c. 24, 25. Orofius, l. vii. c. 33. Jerom in Chron. p. 189, and tom. ii. p. 212. The monks of Fgypt performed many miracles, which prove the truth of their faith. Right, fays Joria (Remarks, vol. iv. p. 79.), but what proves the truth of those mire

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peror Valentinian. His edict (77) addressed to Damasus, bishop of Rome, was publicly read in the churches of the city. He admonished the ecclefiaftics and monks not to frequent the houses of widows and virgins; and menaced their disobedience with the animadversion of the The director was no longer percivil judge. mitted to receive any gift, or legacy, or inheritance, from the liberality of his spiritual daughter: every testament contrary to this edict was declared null and void; and the illegal donation was confiscated for the use of the treasury. a subsequent regulation, it should seem, that the fame provisions were extended to nuns and bishops; and that all persons of the ecclesiastical order were rendered incapable of receiving any testamentary gifts, and strictly confined to the natural and legal rights of inheritance. guardian of domestic happiness and virtue, Valentinian applied this fevere remedy to the growing evil. In the capital of the empire, the females of noble and opulent houses possessed a very ample share of independent property: and many of those devout females had embraced the doctrines of Christianity, not only with the cold affent of the understanding, but with the warmth of affection, and perhaps with the ea-They facrificed the pleagerness of fashion. fures of drefs and luxury: and renounced, for the praise of chastity, the soft endearments of conjugal fociety. Some ecclefiaftic, of real or R 2 apparent

⁽⁷⁷⁾ Cod. Theodos. 1. xvi. tit. ii. leg. 20. Godefroy (tom. vi. p. 49.), after the example of Baronius, impartially collects all that the fathers have said on the subject of this important law; whose spirit was long afterwards revived by the emperor Frederic II., Edward I. of England, and other Christian princes who reigned after the twelfth century.

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apparent fanctity, was chosen to direct their timorous conscience, and to amuse the vacant tenderness of their heart: and the unbounded confidence, which they hastily bestowed, was often abused by knaves and enthusiasts; who hastened from the extremities of the East, to enjoy, on a splendid theatre, the privileges of the monastic profession. By their contempt of the world, they insensibly acquired its most defirable advantages; the lively attachment, perhaps, of a young and beautiful woman, the delicate plenty of an opulent household, and the respectful homage of the slaves, the freedmen, and the clients of a fenatorial family. The immense fortunes of the Roman ladies were gradually confumed, in lavish alms and expensive pilgrimages; and the artful monk, who had affigned himself the first, or possibly the sole place, in the testament of his spiritual daughter, still presumed to declare, with the smooth face of hypocrify, that be was only the instrument of charity, and the steward of the poor. lucrative, but difgraceful trade (78), which was exercised by the clergy to defraud the expectations of the natural heirs, had provoked the indignation of a superstitious age: and two of the most respectable of the Latin fathers very honestly confess, that the ignominious edict of Valentinian was just and necessary; and that the Christian

⁽⁷⁸⁾ The expressions which I have used are temperate and seedle, if compared with the vehement invectives of Jerom (tom. i. p. 13-45, 144, &c.). In his turn, he was reproached with the guilt which he imputed to his brother monks: and the Sceleratus, the Versipellis, was publicly accused as the lover of the widow Paula (tom. ii. p. 363). He undoubtedly possessed the affections, both of the mother and the daughter; but he declares, that he never abused his influence, to any selfish or sensual purpose.

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Christian priests had deserved to lose a privilege, which was still enjoyed by comedians, charioteers, and the ministers of idols. But the wisdom and authority of the legislator are seldom victorious in a contest with the vigilant dexterity of private interest: and Jerom, or Ambrose, might patiently acquiesce in the justice of an inessectual or salutary law. If the ecclesiastics were checked in the pursuit of personal emolument, they would exert a more laudable industry to increase the wealth of the church; and dignify their covetousness with the specious names of piety and patriotism (79).

Damasus, bishop of Rome, who was con-Ambition strained to stigmatize the avarice of his clergy by of Damasus, the publication of the law of Valentinian, had bishop of the good sense, or the good fortune, to engage A D. 366—in his service the zeal and abilities of the learned 384-Jerom; and the grateful saint has celebrated the merit and purity of a very ambiguous character (80). But the splendid vices of the Church of

Rome, under the reign of Valentinian and Damasus, have been curiously observed by the historian Ammianus, who delivers his impartial sense in these expressive words: "The præsect-"ure of Juventius was accompanied with peace and plenty: but the tranquility of his go-"vernment was soon disturbed by a bloody se-

"vernment was foon diffurbed by a bloody fe-"dition of the diffracted people. The ardour

(79) Pudit dicere, facerdotes idolorum, mimi et aurigæ, et fcorta, hareditates capiunt: solis clericis ac monachis hac lege prohibetur. Et non prohibetur a persecutoribus, sed a principibus Christianis. Nec de lege queror; sed doleo cur meruerimus hanc legem, Jerom (tom. i. p. 13) discreetly infinuates the secret policy of his patron Damasus.

(80) Three words of Jerom, fanclæ memoriæ Damasus (tom. ii. p. 109) wash away all his stains; and blind the devout eyes of Tillemont (Mem. Eccles. tom. viii. p. 386-424.).

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of Damasus and Ursinus, to seize the episcopal " feat, surpassed the ordinary measure of human " ambition. They contended with the rage of " party; the quarrel was maintained by the "wounds and deaths of their followers; and "the præfect, unable to refist or to appease the "tumult, was constrained, by superior violence, "to retire into the suburbs. Damasus prevail-" ed: the well disputed victory remained on "the fide of his faction; one hundred and "thirty-feven dead bodies (81) were found in " the Bafilica of Sicininus (82), where the Chrif-"tians hold their religious affemblies; and it " was long before the angry minds of the people " refumed their accustomed tranquillity. W hen "I consider the splendour of the capital, I am " not astonished that so valuable a prize should "inflame the defires of ambitious men, and " produce the fiercest and most obstinate con-"tests. The successful candidate is secure, that "he will be enriched by the offerings of ma-"trons (83); that, as foon as his dress is comof posed with becoming care and elegance, he ee may

(81) Jerom himself is forced to allow, crudelissima intersectiones diversis fexus perpetrata (in Chron. p. 186.). But an original libelor petition of two presbyters of the adverse party, has unaccountably escaped. They affirm, that the doors of the Basilica were burnt, and that the roof was untiled; that Damasus marched at the head of his own clergy, grave-diggers, charioteers, and hired gladiators; that none of his party were killed, but that one hundred and fixty dead bodies were found. This petition is published by the P. Sirmond, in the first volume of his works.

(82) The Basilica of Sicininus, or Liberius, is probably the church of S a Maria Maggiore, on the Esquiline hill. Baronius, A. D. 367. No. 3; and Donatus, Roma Antiqua et Nova, 1. iv. c. 3. p. 462.

(83) The enemies of Damasus Hyled him Auriscalpius Matronarum, the ladies ear-scratcher.

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ronarum,

"may proceed, in his chariot, through the "ftreets of Rome (84); and that the sumptu-"oulnels of the Imperial table will not equal "the profuse and delicate entertainments pro-"vided by the tafte, and at the expence of the "Roman pontiffs. How much more rationally, "continues the honest Pagan, would those pon-"tiffs confult their true happiness, if, instead of " alleging the greatness of the city as an excuse "for their manners, they would imitate the ex-"plary life of fome provincial bishops, whose "temperance and fobriety, whose mean apparel, "and downcast looks, recommend their pure " and modest virtue to the Deity, and his true "worshippers (85). The schism of Damasus and Urfinus was extinguished by the exile of the latter; and the wisdom of the præfect Prætextatus (86) restored the tranquillity of the city. Prætextatus was a philosophic Pagan, a man of learning, of taste, and politeness; who disguised a reproach in the form of a jest, when he assured Damasus, that if he could obtain the bishopric

(84) Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. xxxii. p. 526.) describes the pride and luxury of the prelates, who reigned in the Imperial cities; their gilt car, siery steeds, numerous train, &c. The crowd gave way as to a wild heast.

(85) Ammian. xxvii. 3. Perpetuo Numini, verisque ejus cultoribus-The incomparable pliancy of a Polytheist!

(86) Ammianus, who makes a fair report of his præfecture (xxvii. 9), flyles him præclaræ indolis, gravitatifque, fenator (xxii. 7. and Valef. ad loc.). A curious infeription (Gruter MCII. No. 2.) records, in two columns, his religious and civil honours. In one line he was Pontiff of the Sun, and of Vesta, Augur, Quindecemvir, Hierophant, &c. &c. In the other, 1. Quæstor candidatus, more probably titular. 2, Prætor. 3. Corrector of Tuscany and Umbria: 4. Consular of Lusitania. 5. Proconsul of Achaia. 6. Præfect of Rome. 7. Prætorian præsect of Italy. 8. Of Illyricum. 9. Consul elect; but he died before the beginning of the year 385. See Tillemont. Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 241. 736.

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of Rome, he himself would immediately embrace the Christian religion (87). This lively picture of the wealth and luxury of the popes in the fourth century, becomes the more curious, as it represents the intermediate degree, between the humble poverty of the apostolic fisherman, and the royal state of a temporal prince, whose dominions extend from the confines of Naples to the banks of the Po.

Foreign A. D. 364-375.

When the fuffrage of the generals and of the army committed the sceptre of the Roman empire to the hands of Valentinian, his reputation in arms, his military skill and experience, and his rigid attachment to the forms, as well as spirit, of ancient discipline, were the principal motives of their judicious choice. The eagerness of the troops who pressed him to nominate his colleague, was justified by the dangerous situation of public affairs; and Valentinian himself was conscious, that the abilities of the most active mind were unequal to the defence of the diffant frontiers of an invaded monarchy. As foon as the death of Julian had relieved the Barbarians from the terror of his name, the most sanguine hopes of rapine and conquest excited the nations of the A.D. 364—East, of the North, and of the South. Their inroads were often vexatious, and fometimes formidable; but, during the twelve years of the reign of Valentinian, his firmness and vigilance protected his own dominions; and his powerful genius feemed to inspire and direct the feeble counsels of his brother. Perhaps the method of annals would more forcibly express the urgent

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⁽⁸⁷⁾ Facite me Romanæ urbis episcopum; et ero protinus Christianus (Jerom, tom. ii. p. 165.). It is more than probable, that Damaius would not have purchased his conversion at such a price.

and divided cares of the two emperors; but the attention of the reader, likewise, would be distracted by a tedious and desultory narrative. A separate view of the five great theatres of war: I. Germany; II. Britain; III. Africa; IV. The East; and, V. The Danube; will impress a more distinct image of the military state of the empire under the reigns of Valentinian and Valens.

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I. The ambassadors of the Alemanni had been I. GERMAoffended by the harsh and haughty behaviour of The Ale-Urfacius, mafter of the offices (88); who, by manni inan act of unseasonable parsimony, had diminish-vade Gaul, ed the value, as well as the quantity, of the presents, to which they were entitled, either from cultom or treaty, on the accession of a new emperor. They expressed, and they communicated to their countrymen, their strong sense of the national affront. The irafcible minds of the chiefs were exasperated by the suspicion of contempt; and the martial youth crowded to their Before Valentinian could pass the itandard. Alps, the villages of Gaul were in flames; before his general Dagalaiphus could encounter the Alemanni, they had fecured the captives and the spoil in the forests of Germany. In the be-A. D. 366. ginning of the ensuing year, the military force January. of the whole nation, in deep and folid columns, broke through the barrier of the Rhine, during the severity of a northern winter. Two Roman counts were defeated and mortally wounded; and the standard of the Heruli and Batavians fell into the hands of the conquerors, who displayed, with infulting shouts and menaces, the trophy of their victory. The standard was recovered; but the

⁽⁸⁸⁾ Ammian. xxvi. 5. Valefius adds a long and good note on the

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the Batavians had not redeemed the shame of their difgrace and flight in the eyes of their severe judge, It was the opinion of Valentinian, that his foldiers must learn to fear their commander, before they could cease to fear the enemy. The troops were folemnly affembled: and the trembling Batavians were inclosed within the circle of the Imperial army. Valentinian then ascended his tribunal: and, as if he disdained to punish cowardice with death, he inflicted a stain of indelible ignominy on the officers, whose misconduct and pulillanimity were found to be the first occasion of the defeat. The Batavians were degraded from their rank, stripped of their arms, and condemned to be fold for flaves to the highest bidder. At this tremendous fentence the troops fell proftate on the ground; deprecated the indignation of their fovereign; and protested, that, if he would indulge them in another trial, they would approve themselves not unworthy of the name of Romans, and of his foldiers. Valentinian, with affected reluctance, yielded to their entreaties: the Batavians refumed their arms; and with their arms, the invincible refolution of wiping away their diffrace in the blood of the Alemanni (89). The principal command was declined by Dagalaiphus; and that experienced general, who had represented, perhaps with too much prudence, the extreme difficulties of the undertaking, had the mortification, before the end of the campaign, of ieeing

⁽⁸⁹⁾ Ammian. xxvii. 1. Zosimus, I. iv. p. 208. The difgrace of the Batavians is suppressed by the contemporary soldier, from a regard in military honour, which could not affect a Greek rhetorician of the succeeding age.

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ing his rival Jovinus convert those difficulties into a decilive advantage over the scattered forces of the Barbarians. At the head of a well disciplin-Their deseat. ed army of cavalry, infantry, and light troops, Jovinus advanced, with cautious and rapid steps, to Scarponna (90), in the territory of Metz, where he surprized a large division of the Alemanni, before they had time to run to their arms; and flushed his soldiers with the confidence of an easy and bloodless victory. ther division, or rather army, of the enemy, after the cruel and wanton devastation of the adjacent country, reposed themselves on the shady banks of the Moselle. Jovinus, who had viewed the ground with the eye of a general, made his filent approach through a deep and woody vale, till he could diffinctly perceive the indolent security of the Germans. Some were bathing their huge limbs in the river: others were combing their long and flaxen hair; others again were swallowing large draughts of rich and delicious wine. On a fudden they heard the found of the Roman trumpet; they faw the enemy in their camp. Aftonishment produced disorder; disorder was followed by flight and difmay; and the confused multitude of the bravest warriors was pierced by the swords and javelins of the legionaries and auxiliaries. The tugitives escaped to the third, and most considerable, camp, in the Catalaunian plains, near Chalons in Champagne: the straggling detachments were haltily recalled to their standard; and the Barbarian chiefs, alarmed and admo-

⁽⁹⁰⁾ See d'Anville, Notice de l'ancienne Gaule, p. 587. The name of the Moselle, which is not specified by Ammianus, is clearly understood by Mascou (Hist. of the ancient Germans, vii. 2.).

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nished by the fate of their companions, prepared to encounter, in a decifive battle, the victorious forces of the lieutenant of Valentinian. bloody and obstinate conflict lasted a whole fummer's day, with equal valour, and with al-The Romans at length preternate success. vailed, with the loss of about twelve hundred men. Six thousand of the Alemanni were slain, four thousand were wounded; and the brave Jovinus, after chacing the flying remnant of their hoft as far as the banks of the Rhine, returned to Paris, to receive the applause of his fovereign, and the enfigns of the confulfhip for the ensuing year (91). The triumph of the Romans was indeed fullied by their treatment of the captive king, whom they hung on a gibbet, without the knowledge of their indignant gene-This difgraceful act of cruelty, which might be imputed to the fury of the troops, was followed by the deliberate murder of Withicab, the fon of Vadomair; a German prince, of a weak and fickly conflitution; but of a daring and formidable spirit. The domestic affashin was instigated and protected by the Romans (92); the violation of the laws of humanity and justice betrayed their fecret apprehension of the weakness of the declining empire. The use of the dagger is feldom adopted in public councils, as long as they retain any confidence in the power of the fword.

Valentinian Rhine, A. D. 368,

While the Alemanni appeared to be humbled passes, and by their recent calamities, the pride of Valentinian was mortified by the unexpected furprisal of

(92) Studio solicitante nostrorum, occubuit. Ammian, xxvii. 10.

⁽⁹¹⁾ The battles are described by Ammianus (xxvii. 2.), and by Zosmus (l. iv. p. 209.); who supposes Valentinian to have been prefent.

Moguntiacum, or Mentz, the principal city of the Upper Germany. In the unfuspicious moment of a Christian festival, Rando, a bold and artful chieftain, who had long meditated his attempt, fuddenly palled the Rhine; entered the defenceless town, and retired with a multitude of captives of either fex. Valentinian resolved to execute severe vengeance on the whole body of the nation. Count Sebastian, with the bands of Italy and Illyricum, was ordered to invade their country, most probably on the side of Rhætia. The emperor in person, accompanied by his son Gratian, palled the Rhine at the head of a formidable army, which was supported on both flanks by Jovinus and Severus, the two mastersgeneral of the cavalry and infantry of the West. The Alemanni, unable to prevent the devastation of their villages, fixed their camp on a lofty, and almost inaccessible, mountain, in the modern duchy of Wirtemberg, and resolutely expected the approach of the Romans. The life of Valentinian was exposed to imminent danger, by the intrepid curiofity with which he perlifted to explore some secret and unguarded path. troop of Barbarians fuddenly role from their ambulcade: and the emperor, who vigoroufly lpurred his horse down a steep and slippery deicent, was obliged to leave behind him his armour-bearer, and his helmet, magnificently ennched with gold and precious stones. At the lignal of the general affault, the Roman troops encompalled and ascended the mountain of Solicinium on three different fides. Every step which they gained, increased their ardour, and abated the relistance of the enemy: and after their united forces had occupied the fummit of the hill, they impetuously urged the Barbarians

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down the northern descent, where count Sebastian was posted to intercept their retreat. After this fignal victory, Valentinian returned to his winter-quarters at Treves; where he indulged the public joy by the exhibition of splendid and triumphal games (93). But the wife monarch. instead of aspiring to the conquest of Germany, confined his attention to the important and laborious defence of the Gallic frontier, against an enemy, whose strength was redeemed by a stream of daring volunteers, which inceffantly flowed from the most distant tribes of the North (94): The banks of the Rhine, from its source to the streights of the ocean, were closely planted with strong castles and convenient towers; new works, and new arms, were invented by the ingenuity of a prince who was skilled in the mechanical arts; and his numerous levies of Roman and Barbarian youth were feverely trained in all the exercises of war. The progress of the work, which was sometimes opposed by modest representations, and sometimes by hostile attempts, secured the tranquility of Gaul during the nine subsequent years of the administration of Valentinian (95).

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⁽⁹³⁾ The expedition of Valentinian is related by Ammianus (xxvii. 10.): and celebrated by Ausonius (Mosell. 421, &c.), who foolishly supposes, that the Romans were ignorant of the sources of the Danube.

⁽⁹⁴⁾ Immanis enim natio, jam inde ab incunabulis primis varietate casuum imminuta; ita sæpius adolescit, ut suisse longis sæculis æstimetur intacta. Ammian. xxviii. 5. The Count de Buat (Hist. des Pèuples de l'Europe, tom. vi. p. 370.) ascribes the secundity of the Alemanni to their easy adoption of strangers.

⁽⁹⁵⁾ Ammian. xxviii. 2. Zosimus, l. iv. p. 214. The younger Victor mentions the mechanical genius of Valentinian, nova arma meditari; fingere terrâ seu limo simulacra.

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That prudent emperor, who diligently prac-The Burtised the wise maxims of Diocletian, was studi-gundians, ous to foment and excite the intestine divisions of A. D. 371. the tribes of Germany. About the middle of the fourth century, the countries, perhaps of Luface and Thuringia, on either lide of the Elbe, were occupied by the vague dominion of the BURGUNDIANS; a warlike and numerous people, of the Vandal race (96), whose obscure name infenfibly swelled into a powerful kingdom, and has finally fettled on a flourishing province. The most remarkable circumstance in the ancient manners of the Burgundians, appears to have been the difference of their civil and ecclefiaftical The appellation of Hendinos was constitution. given to the king or general, and the title of Simiftus to the high-priest, of the nation. The person of the priest was sacred, and his dignity perpetual; but the temporal government was held by a very precarious tenure. If the events of war accused the courage or conduct of the king, he was immediately deposed; and the injustice of his subjects made him responsible for the fertility of the earth, and the regularity of the feafons, which feemed to fall more properly within the facerdotal department (97). disputed possession of some salt-pits (98) engaged the

(96) Bellicosos et pubis immensæ viribus affluentes; et ideo metuendos sinitimis universis. Ammian. xxviii. 5.

(97) I am always apt to suspect historians and travellers of improving extraordinary facts into general laws. Ammianus ascribes a similar custom to Egypt; and the Chinese have imputed it to the Tatsin, or Roman empire (de Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. ii. part i. p. 79.).

(98) Salinarum finiumque causa Alemannis sæpe jurgabant. Ammian, axviii. 5. Possibly they disputed the possession of the Sala, a river which produced falt, and which had been the object of ancient contention. Tacit, Annal xiii. 57, and Lipsius ad loc.

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the Alemanni and the Burgundians in frequent contests: the latter were easily tempted, by the fecret folicitations, and liberal offers, of the emperor; and their fabulous descent from the Roman foldiers, who had formerly been left to garrison the fortresses of Drusus, was admitted with mutual credulity, as it was conducive to mutual interest (99). An army of fourscore thousand Burgundians soon appeared on the banks of the Rhine; and impatiently required the support and subsidies which Valentinian had promised: but they were amused with excuses and delays, till at length, after a fruitless expectation, they were compelled to retire. and fortifications of the Gallic frontier checked the fury of their just resentment; and their masfacre of the captives ferved to embitter the hereditary feud of the Burgundians and the Alemanni. The inconstancy of a wise prince may, perhaps, be explained by some alteration of circumstances; and, perhaps, it was the original delign of Valentinian to intimidate, rather than to destroy; as the balance of power would have been equally overturned by the extirpation of Among the either of the German nations. princes of the Alemanni, Macrianus, who, with a Roman name, had affumed the arts of a foldier and a statesman, deserved his hatred and The emperor himself, with a light and unincumbered band, condescended to pass the Rhine,

⁽⁹⁹⁾ Jam inde temporibus priscis sobolem se esse Romanam Burgundis seiunt: and the vague tradition gradually assumed a more regular form (Oros. 1. vii. c. 32.). It is annihilated by the decisive authority of Pliny, who composed the history of Drusus, and served in Germany (Plin, Secund. Epist. iii. 5.), within sixty years after the death of that hero Germanorum genera quinque Vindili; quorum pars Burgundienes, &c. (Hist. Natur. iv. 28.).

Rhine, marched fifty miles into the country, and would infallibly have feized the object of his pursuit, if his judicious measures had not been defeated by the impatience of the troops. cianus was afterwards admitted to the honour of a personal conference with the emperor; and the favours which he received, fixed him, till the hour of his death, a steady and sincere friend

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The land was covered by the fortifications of The Saxons. Valentinian; but the sea-coast of Gaul and Brimin was exposed to the depredations of the That celebrated name, in which we have a dear and domestic interest, escaped the notice of Tacitus; and in the maps of Ptolemy, it faintly marks the narrow neck of the Cimbric peninfula, and three small islands towards the mouth of the Elbe (101). This contracted territory, the present Duchy of Sleswig, or perhaps of Holitein, was incapable of pouring forth the inexhaultible swarms of Saxons who reigned over the ocean, who filled the British island with their language, their laws, and their colonies; and who so long defended the liberty of the North against the arms of Charlemagne (102). The folution of this difficulty is eafily derived Vol. IV. trom

⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ The wars and negociations, relative to the Burgundians and demanni, are diffinely related by Ammianus Marcellinus (xxviii. 5. 11. 4. xxx. 3.). Orofius (l. vii. c. 32.), and the Chronicles of Jerom 11. Caffiodorius, fix forne dates, and and forne circumstances.

⁽¹⁰¹⁾ Επι τον αυχεία της Κιμβείκης χερσονήσε, Σαξονές. Atthe northern extremity of the peninfula (the Cimbric promontory of my, iv. 27.) Ptolemy fixes the remnant of the Cimbri. He fills the terval between the Saxons and the Cimbri with fix obscure tribes, who ere united, as early as the fixth century, under the national appellaon of Danes. See Cluver. German. Antiq. 1. iil. c. 21, 22, 23

⁽¹⁰²⁾ M. d'Anville (Etablillement des Etats de l'Europe, &c. p. 19 26.) has marked the extensive limits of the Saxony of Charlemague.

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from the fimilar manners, and loose constitution, of the tribes of Germany; which were blended with each other by the flightest accidents of war or friendship. The situation of the native Saxons disposed them to embrace the hazardous professions of fishermen and pirates; and the fuccess of their first adventures would naturally excite the emulation of their braveft countrymen, who were impatient of the gloomy folitude of their woods and mountains. Every tide might float down the Elbe whose fleets of canoes, filled with hardy and intrepid affociates. who aspired to behold the unbounded prosped of the ocean, and to tafte the wealth and luxury of unknown worlds. It should seem probable however, that the most numerous auxiliaries of the Saxons were furnished by the nations who dwelt along the shores of the Baltic. They polfessed arms and ships, the art of navigation, and the habits of naval war; but the difficulty of issuing through the northern columns of Hercu les (103) (which, during feveral months of the year, are obstructed with ice) confined the skill and courage within the limits of a spaciou lake. The rumour of the successful armament which failed from the mouth of the Elbe, would foon provoke them to crofs the narrow ifthmy of Sleswig, and to launch their vessels on the great lea. The various troops of pirates an adventurers, who fought under the same stand ard, were infentibly united in a permanent ciet

⁽¹⁰³⁾ The fleet of Drusus had failed in their attempt to pass, or to approach, the Sound (styled, from an obvious resemblance, the column of Hercules); and the naval enterprize was never resumed (Tacit Moribus German. c. 34.). The knowledge which the Romans acquired of the naval powers of the Baltic (c. 44, 45.), was obtained by the land journess in search of amber.

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ciety, at first of rapine, and afterwards, of government. A military confederation was gradually moulded into a national body, by the gentle operation of marriage and consanguinity; and the adjacent tribes, who folicited the alliance, accepted the name and laws, of the Saxons. If the fact were not established by the most unquestionable evidence, we should appear to abuse the credulity of our readers, by the description of the vessels in which the Saxon pirates ventured to sport in the waves of the German Ocean, the British Channel, and the Bay of Biscay. The keel of their large flat-bottomed boats was framed of light timber, but the fides and upper-works confifted only of wicker, with a covering of strong hides (104). In the course of their flow and distant navigations, they must always have been exposed to the danger, and very frequently to the misfortune, of shipwreck; and the naval annals of the Saxons were undoubtedly filled with the accounts of the losses, which they sustained on the coasts of Britain and Gaul. But the daring spirit of the pirates braved the perils, both of the sea, and of the shore: their skill was confirmed by the habits of enterprize; the meanest of their mariners was alike capable, of handling an oar, of rearing a fail, or of conducting a vessel; and the Saxons rejoiced in the appearance of a tempett, which

(104) Quin et Aremoricus piratam Saxona tractus,——
Sperabat; cui pelle salum sulcare Britannum
Ludus; et assucum mare findere lembo.

Sidon. in Panegyr? Avit. 369.

The genius of Cæsar imitated, for a particular service, these rude, but light, vessels, which were likewise used by the natives of Britain (Comment de Bell. Civil. i. 51. and Guichardt, Nouveaux Memoires Militires, tom. ii. p. 41, 42.). The British vessels would now assonish the senius of Cæsar.

which concealed their design, and dispersed the fleets of the enemy (105). After they had acquired an accurate knowledge of the maritime

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provinces of the West, they extended the scene of their depredations, and the most sequestered places had no reason to presume on their security. The Saxon boats drew so little water, that they could easily proceed fourscore or an hundred miles up the great rivers; their weight was fo inconsiderable, that they were transported on waggons from one river to another; and the pirates who had entered the mouth of the Seine. or of the Rhine, might descend, with the rapid ftream of the Rhone, into the Mediterranean.

A. D. 371. Under the reign of Valentinian, the maritime provinces of Gaul were afflicted by the Saxons: a military count was stationed for the defence of the sea-coast, or Armorican limit; and that officer, who found his itrength, or his abilities, unequal to the talk, implored the affiftance of Severus, master-general of the infantry. The Saxons, furrounded and out-numbered, were forced to relinquish their spoil, and to yield a felect band of their tall and robust youth to serve in the Imperial armies. They stipulated only a fafe and honourable retreat: and the condition was readily granted by the Roman general who meditated an act of perfidy (106), imprudent as it was inhuman, while a Saxon remained alive, and in arms, to revenge the fate of his

(105) The best original account of the Saxon pirates may be found in Bidonius Apollinaris (1. viii. epist. 6. p. 223. edit. Sirmond.), and the best commentary in the Abbé du Bos (Hist. Critique, de la Monarchie Francoise, &c. tom. i. l. i. c. 16. p. 148—155. See likewise p. 77, 78.)

(106) Ammian (xxviii. 5.) justifies this breach of faith to picates an robbers; and Orofius (l. vii. c. 32.) more clearly expresses their real guilt virtute atque agilitate terribiles.

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The premature eagerness of the countrymen. infantry, who were fecretly posted in a deep valley, betrayed the ambuscade; and they would perhaps have fallen the victims of their own neachery, if a large body of cuiraffiers, alarmed by the noise of the combat, had not haftily advanced to extricate their companions, and to overwhelm the undaunted valour of the Saxons. Some of the prisoners were saved from the edge of the fword, to fled their blood in the amphitheatre: and the orator Symmachus complains, that twenty-nine of those desperate savages, by firangling themselves with their own hands, had disappointed the amusement of the public. the polite and philosophic citizens of Rome were impressed with the deepest horror, when they were informed, that the Saxons confecrated to the gods the tythe of their buman spoil; and, that they afcertained by lot the objects of the barbarous facrifice (107.)

II. The fabulous colonies of Egyptians and II. Britoians, of Scandinavians and Spaniards, which TAIN. Trojans, of Scandinavians and Spaniards, which TAIN. The Scots flattered the pride, and amused the credulity, of and Picticour rude ancestors, have insensibly vanished in the light of science and philosophy (108). The present age is satisfied with the simple and rational opinion, that the islands of Great Britain

(107) Symmachus (l. ii. epist. 46.) still presumes to mention the facted names of Socrates and philosophy. Sidonius, bishop of Clermont, might condemn (l. viii. epist. 6.), with less inconsistency, the human factifices of the Saxons.

(108) In the beginning of the last century, the learned Cambden was obliged to undermine, with respectful scepticism, the romance of Brutus, the Trojan; who is now buried, in silent oblivion, with Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh, and her numerous progeny. Yet I am informed, that some champions of the Milesian colony may still be found among the original natives of Ireland. A people distatisfied with their present condition, grasp at any visions of their past or suture glory.

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and Ireland were gradually peopled from the adjacent continent of Gaul. From the coast of Kent, to the extremity of Caithness and Ulster. the memory of a Celtic origin was distinctly preserved, in the perpetual resemblance of language, of religion, and of manners: and the peculiar characters of the British tribes, might be naturally ascribed to the influence of accidental The Roman and local circumstances (109). province was reduced to the state of civilized and peaceful servitude: the rights of savage freedom were contracted to the narrow limits of Caledonia. The inhabitants of that northern region were divided, as early as the reign of Constantine, between the two great tribes of the Scors and of the Picts (110), who have fince experienced a very different fortune. The power, and almost the memory, of the Picts, have

(109) Tacitus, or rather his father-in-law Agricola, might remark the German or Spanish complexion of some British tribes. But it was their sober deliberate opinion. "In universum tamen assimanti Gallos vicinum solum occupaise credibile est. Forum sacra deprehendas ... fermo haud multum diversus (in Vit. Agricol. c. xi.)." Casar had observed their common religion (Comment. de Bello Gallico, vi. 13); and in his time, the emigration from the Belgic Gaul was a recent, or at least an historical, event (v. 10.). Cambden, the British Strabo, has moderly ascertained our genuine antiquities (Britannia, vol. i. Introduction, p. ii—xxxi).

(110) In the dark and doubtful paths of Caledonian antiquity, I have chosen for my guides two learned and ingenious Highlanders, whom their birth and education had peculiarly qualified for that office. See Critical Differtations on the Origin, Antiquities, &c. of the Caledonians, by Dr. John Macpherson, London, 1768, in 4to; and, Introduction to the History of Great Britain and Ireland, by James Macpherson, Esq. London, 1773, in 4to. third edit. Dr. Macpherson was a minister in the Isle of Sky: and it is a circumstance honourable for the present age, that a work, replete with erudition and criticism, should have been composed in the most remote of the Hebrides.

been extinguished by their successful rivals; and the Scots, after maintaining for ages the dignity of an independent kingdom, have multiplied, by an equal and voluntary union, the honours of The hand of nature had the English name. contributed to mark the ancient distinction of the Scots and Picts. The former were the men of the hills, and the latter those of the plain. The eastern coast of Caledonia may be considered as a level and fertile country, which, even in a rude state of tillage, was capable of producing a confiderable quantity of corn; and the epithet of cruitnich, or wheat-eaters, exprelled the contempt, or envy, of the carnivorous highlander. The cultivation of the earth might introduce a more accurate separation of property, and the habits of a fedentary life; but the love of arms and rapine was still the ruling passion of the Picts: and their warriors, who stripped themselves for a day of battle, were distinguished, in the eyes of the Romans, by the strange fashion of painting their naked bodies, with gaudy colours and fantastic figures. The western part of Caledonia irregularly rifes into wild and barren hills, which scarcely repay the toil of the husbandman, and are most profitably used for the patture of The highlanders were condemned to the occupations of shepherds and hunters; and, as they feldom were fixed to any permanent habitation, they acquired the expressive name of Scors, which, in the Celtic tongue, is laid to be equivalent to that of wanderers, or vagrants. The inhabitants of a barren land were urged to leek a fresh supply of food in the waters. deep lakes and bays which interfect their country, are plentifully stored with fish; and they gradually

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gradually ventured to cast their nets in the waves of the ocean. The vicinity of the Hebrides, fo profusely scattered along the western coast of Scotland, tempted their curiosity, and improved their skill; and they acquired, by slow degrees, the art, or rather the habit, of managing their boats in a tempestuous sea, and of steering their nocturnal course by the light of the well-known The two bold headlands of Caledonia almost touch the shores of a spacious island, which obtained, from its luxuriant vegetation, the epithet of Green; and has preserved, with a flight alteration, the name of Erin, or lerne, or Ireland. It is probable, that in some remote period of antiquity, the fertile plains of Ulfler received a colony of hungry Scots; and that the strangers of the North, who had dared to encounter the arms of the legions, spread their conquests over the favage and unwarlike natives of a folitary island. It is certain, that, in the declining age of the Roman empire, Caledonia, Ireland, and the Isle of Man, were inhabited by the Scots; and that the kindred tribes, who were often affociated in military enterprile, were deeply affected by the various accidents of their mutual fortunes. They long cherished the lively tradition of their common name and origin: and the missionaries of the Isle of Saints. who diffused the light of Christianity over North Britain, established the vain opinion, that their Irish countrymen were the natural, as well as spiritual, fathers of the Scottish race. The loose and obscure tradition has been preserved by the venerable Bede, who fcattered some rays of light over the darkness of the eighth century. On this flight foundation, an huge superstructure of fable

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fable was gradually reared, by the bards, and the monks; two orders of men, who equally abused the privilege of fiction. The Scottish nation, with mistaken pride, adopted their Irish genealogy: and the annals of a long line of imaginary kings have been adorned by the fancy of Boethius, and the classic elegance of Buchanan (111).

Six years after the death of Constantine, the Their invades tructive inroads of the Scots and Picts required from of Brithe presence of his youngest son, who reigned A.D. 343—in the western empire. Constans visited his 365. British dominions: but we may form some estimate of the importance of his atchievements, by the language of panegyric, which celebrates only his triumph over the elements; or, in other words, the good fortune of a safe and easy passage, from the port of Boulogne to the harbour

(111) The Irish descent of the Scots has been revived, in the last moments of its decay, and strenuously supported, by the Rev. Mr. Whitaker (Hist. of Manchester, vol. i. p. 430, 431; and Genuine History of the Britons asserted, &c. p. 154-293.). Yet he acknowledges, 1. That the Scots of Ammianus Marcellinus (A. D. 340.) were already settled in Caledonia; and that the Roman authors do not afford any hints of their emigration from another country. 2. That all the accounts of fuch emigrations, which have been afferted, or received, by Irish bards, Scotch historians, or English antiquaries (Buchanan, Cambden, Usher, Stillingfleet, &c), are totally fabulous. 3. That three of the Irish tribes, which are mentioned by Ptolemy (A. D. 150.), were of Caledonian extraction. 4. That a younger branch of Caledonian princes, of the house of Fingal, acquired and possessed the monarchy of Ireland. After these concessions, the remaining difference between Mr. Whitaker and his adversaries is minute and obscure. The genuina history, which he produces, of a Fergus, the cousin of Ossian, who was transplanted (A. D. 320.) from Ireland to Caledonia, is built on a conjectural supplement to the Erse poetry; and the seeble evidence of Richard of Cirencester, 2 monk of the fourteenth century. The lively spirit of the learned and ingenious antiquarian has tempted him to forget the nature of a question, which he so vehemently debates, and so absolutely decides.

of Sandwich (112). The calamities which the afflicted provincials continued to experience. from foreign war, and domestic tyranny, were aggravated by the feeble and corrupt administration of the eunuchs of Constantius; and the transient relief which they might obtain from the virtues of Julian, was foon lost by the absence and death of their benefactor. The fums of gold and filver, which had been painfully collected, or liberally transmitted, for the payment of the troops, were intercepted by the avarice of the commanders; discharges, or, at least, exemptions, from the military fervice, were publicly fold; the diffress of the soldiers, who were injuriously deprived of their legal and scanty fublistence, provoked them to frequent desertion; the nerves of discipline were relaxed, and the highways were infested with robbers (113). oppression of the good, and the impunity of the wicked, equally contributed to diffuse through the island a spirit of discontent and revolt; and every ambitious subject, every desperate exile, might entertain a reasonable hope of subverting the weak and distracted government of Britain. The hostile tribes of the North, who detested the pride and power of the King of the World, sulpended their domestic feuds; and the Barbarians of the land and sea, the Scots, the Picts, and the Saxons, spread themselves, with rapid and irresistible fury, from the wall of Antoninus

(113) Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. xxxix. p. 264. This curious passage

has escaped the diligence of our British antiquaries.

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⁽¹¹²⁾ Hyeme tumentes ac sevientes undas calcâstis Oceani sub remis vestris; ... insperatam imperatoris faciem Britannus expavit. Ju ius Firmicus Maternus de Errore Profan. Relig p. 464. edit. Gronov. ad calcem Minuc. Fæl. See Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, toin. iv. p. 336.).

to the shores of Kent. Every production of art and nature, every object of convenience or luxury, which they were incapable of creating by labour, or procuring by trade, was accumulated in the rich and fruitful province of Britain (114). A philosopher may deplore the eternal discord of the human race, but he will confess, that the defire of spoil is a more rational provocation than the vanity of conquest. From the age of Constantine to that of the Plantagenets, this rapacious spirit continued to instigate the poor and hardy Caledonians: but the fame people, whose generous humanity feems to inspire the songs of Oslian, was disgraced by a savage ignorance of the virtues of peace, and of the laws of war. Their fouthern neighbours have felt, and perhaps exaggerated, the cruel depredations of the Scots and Picts (115); and a valiant tribe of Caledonia, the Attacotti (116), the enemies, and afterwards the foldiers, of Valentinian, are accused, by an eye-witness, of delighting in the talte of human flesh. When they hunted the woods for prey, it is faid, that they attacked the shepherd rather than his flock; and that they curiously selected the most delicate and brawny parts, both of males and females, which they prepared

(114) The Caledonians praised and coveted the gold, the steeds, the lights, &c. of the stranger. See Dr. Blair's Dissertation on Ossian, vol. ii. p. 343; and Mr. Macpherson's Introduction, p. 242-286.

(115) Lord Lyttleton has circumftantially related (History of Henry II. vol. i. p. 182.), and Sir David Dalrymple has slightly mentioned (Annals of Scotland, vol. i. p. 69.), a barbarous inroad of the Scots, at a time (A. D. 1137.) when law, religion, and society, must have softened their primitive manners.

(116) Attacotti bellicosa hominum natio. Ammian. xxvii. 8. Cambden (Introduct. p. clii.) has restored their true name in the text of Jerom. The bands of Attacotti, which Jerom had seen in Gaul, were afterwards stationed in Italy and Illyricum (Notitia, S. viii. xxxix. xl.).

prepared for their horrid repasts (117). If, in the neighbourhood of the commercial and literary town of Glasgow, a race of cannibals has really existed, we may contemplate, in the period of the Scottish history, the opposite extremes of favage and civilifed life. Such reflections tend to enlarge the circle of our ideas; and to encourage the pleasing hope, that New Zealand may produce, in some future age, the Hume of the Southern Hemisphere.

Every messenger who escaped across the Bri-

Restoration

of Britain by tish channel, conveyed the most melancholy and A.D. 367-alarming tidings to the ears of Valentinian; and the emperor was foon informed, that the two military commanders of the province had been furprised and cut off by the Barbarians. Severus, count of the domestics, was hastily dispatched, and as fuddenly recalled, by the court of Treves. The representations of Jovinus served only to indicate the greatness of the evil; and, after a long and serious consultation, the defence, or rather the recovery, of Britain, was entrufted to the abilities of the brave Theodosius. ploits of that general, the father of a line of emperors, have been celebrated, with peculiar complacency, by the writers of the age: but his real merit deserved their applause; and his nomination was received, by the army and province, as a fure prefage of approaching victory. He seized the favourable moment of navigation, and fecurely landed the numerous and veteran

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⁽¹¹⁷⁾ Cum iple adolescentulus in Gallia viderim Attacottos (or Scotos) gentem Britannicam humanis vesci carnibus; et cum per silvas porcorum greges, et armentorum pecudumque reperiant, pastorum nates et feminarum papillas folere abscindere; et has solas ciborum delicias arbitrari. Such is the evidence of Jerom (tom. ii. p. 75.), whose veracity I find no reason to question,

bands of the Heruli and Batavians, the Jovians and the Victors. In his march from Sandwich to London, Theodofius defeated feveral parties of the Barbarians, released a multitude of captives, and, after diffributing to his foldiers a small portion of the spoil, established the fame of difinterested justice, by the restitution of the remainder to the rightful proprietors. The citizens of London, who had almost despaired of their fafety, threw open their gates; and as foon as Theodofius had obtained from the court of Treves the important aid of a military lieutenant, and a civil governor, he executed, with wisdom and vigour, the laborious task of the deliverance of Britain. The vagrant foldiers were recalled to their standard; an edict of amnefty difpelled the public apprehensions; and his cheerful example alleviated the rigour of martial discipline. The scattered and desultory warfare of the Barbarians, who infested the land and sea, deprived him of the glory of a fignal victory; but the prudent spirit, and consummate art, of the Roman general, were displayed in the operations of two campaigns, which fuccessively A. D. 368 refcued every part of the province from the hands and 369. of a cruel and rapacious enemy. The splender of the cities, and the fecurity of the fortifications, were diligently restored, by the paternal care of Theodofius: who with a strong hand confined the trembling Caledonians to the northern angle of the island; and perpetuated, by the name and settlement of the new province of Valentia, the glories of the reign of Valentinian (118.) The voice of poetry and panegyric may add, perhaps

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⁽¹¹⁸⁾ Ammianus has concisely represented (xx. 1. xxvi. 4. xxvii. 3. xxvii. 3.) the whole series of the British war.

haps with some degree of truth, that the unknown regions of Thule were stained with the blood of the Picts; that the oars of Theodosius dashed the waves of the Hyberborean ocean; and that the diftant Orkneys were the scene of his naval victory over the Saxon pirates (119). He left the province with a fair, as well as splendid, reputation: and was immediately promoted to the rank of mafter-general of the cavalry, by a prince, who could applaud without envy, the merit of his fervants. In the important station of the upper Danube, the conqueror of Britain checked and defeated the armies of the Alemanni, before he was chosen to suppress the revolt of Africa.

III. AFRI-CA. Tyran-

III. The prince who refuses to be the judge, ny of Roma, instructs his people to consider him as the ac-nus, A. D. complice, of his ministers. The military command of Africa had been long exercised by Count Romanus, and his abilities were not inadequate to his station: but as fordid interest was the sole motive of his conduct, he acted, on most occasions, as if he had been the enemy of the province, and the friend of the Barbarians of the defert. The three flourishing cities of Oea, Leptis, and Sabrata, which, under the name of Tripoli, had long constituted a fæderal

> (119) Horrescit . . . ratibus . . . impervia Thule. Ille nec falso nomine Pictos Edomuit. Scotumque vago mucrone secutus Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas.

Claudian, in iii Cons. Honorii, ver. 53, &c.

- Maduerunt Saxone fuso Orcades: incaluit Pictorum fanguine Thule. Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.

In iv Conf. Hon. ver. 31, &c.

See likewise Pacatus fin Panegyr. Vet. xii. 5.). But it is not easy to appreciate the intrinsic value of flattery and metaphor. Compare the Britis

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union (120), were obliged, for the first time, to thut their gates against a hostile invasion; several of their most honourable citizens were surprized and massacred; the villages, and even the fuburbs, were pillaged; and the vines and fruit-trees of that rich territory were extirpated by the malicious savages of Getulia. The unhappy provincials implored the protection of Romanus; but they foon found that their military governor was not less cruel and rapacious than the Barbarians. As they were incapable of furnishing the four thousand camels, and the exorbitant present, which he required, before he would march to the affiftance of Tripoli; his demand was equivalent to a refusal, and he might justly be accused as the author of the public calamity. In the annual affembly of the three cities, they nominated two deputies, to lay at the feet of Valentinian the customary offering of a gold victory; and to accompany this tribute, of duty, rather than of gratitude, with their humble complaint, that they were ruined by the enemy, and betrayed by their governor. If the severity of Valentinian had been rightly directed, it would have fallen on the guilty head of Romanus. But the Count, long exercised in the arts of corruption, had dispatched a swift and trusty messenger to secure the venal friendship of Remigius, master of the offices.

British victories of Bolanus (Statius, Silv. v. 2.) with his real character (Tacit. in Vit. Agricol. c. 16.).

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(120) Ammianus frequently mentions their concilium annuum, legitimum, &c. Leptis and Sabrata are long fince ruined; but the city of Oea, the native country of Apuleius, still flourishes under the provincial denomination of Tripoli. See Cellarius (Geograph. Antiqua, tom. ii. part ii. p. 81.), D' Anville (Geographie Ancienne, tom. iii. p. 71, 72.), and Marmol (Afrique, tom. ii. p. 562.).

offices. The wildom of the Imperial council was deceived by artifice; and their honest indignation was cooled by delay. At length, when the repetition of complaint had been justified by the repetition of public misfortunes, the notary Palladius was fent from the court of Treves, to examine the state of Africa, and the conduct of The rigid impartiality of Palladius Romanus. was easily disarmed: he was tempted to referve for himself a part of the public treasure, which he brought with him for the payment of the troops; and from the moment that he was confcious of his own guilt, he could no longer refuse to attest the innocence and merit of the Count. The charge of the Tripolitans was declared to be false and frivolous; and Palladius himself was sent back from Treves to Africa, with a special commission, to discover and profecute the authors of this impious conspiracy against the representatives of the sovereign. His enquiries were managed with fo much dexterity and fuccess, that he compelled the citizens of Leptis, who had fulfained a recent flege of eight days, to contradict the truth of their own decrees, and to censure the behaviour of their own deputies. A bloody fentence was pronounced, without helitation, by the rash and headstrong cruelty of Valentinian. The prelident of Tripoli, who had prefumed to pity the diffress of the province, was publicly executed at Utica; four diftinguished citizens were put to death, as the accomplices of the imaginary fraud; and the tongues of two others were cut out, by the express order of the emperor. Romanus, elated by impunity, and irritated by resistance, was still continued in the military command; till the Africans were provoked, by

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His father Nabal was one of the richest and Revolt of most powerful of the Moorish princes, who A.D. 372. acknowledged the supremacy of Rome. But as he left, either by his wives or concubines, a very numerous posterity, the wealthy inheritance was eagerly disputed; and Zamma, one of his fons, was flain in a domestic quarrel by by his brother Firmus. The implacable zeal, with which Romanus profecuted the legal revenge of this murder, could be ascribed only to amotive of avarice, or perional hatred: but, on this occasion, his claims were just; his influence was weighty; and Firmus clearly understood. that he must either present his neck to the executioner, or appeal from the sentence of the Imperial confiftory, to his fword, and to the people (122). He was received as the deliverer of his country; and, as foon as it appeared, that Romanus was formidable only to a submissive province, the tyrant of Africa became the object of universal contempt. The ruin of Cæsarea. which was plundered and burnt by the licentious Barbarians, convinced the refractory cities of the danger of relistance; the power of Firmus was established, at least in the provinces of Mauritania and Numidia; and it seemed to be his only VOL. IV. doubt.

⁽¹²¹⁾ Ammian. xviii. 6. Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 25. 676.) has discussed the chronological difficulties of the history of Count Romanus.

⁽¹²²⁾ The chronology of Ammianus is loose and obscure: and Orofus (l. vii. c. 33. p. 551. edit. Havercamp.) seems to place the revolt of Firmus after the deaths of Valentinian and Valens. Tillemont: (Hist. des Emp. tom. v. p. 691.) endeavours to pick his way. The patient and sure-sooted mule of the Alps may be trusted in the most suppery paths.

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a Moorish king, or the purple of a Roman emperor. But the imprudent and unhappy Africans foon discovered, that, in this rash insurrection, they had not fufficiently confulted their own strength, or the abilities of their leader. he could procure any certain intelligence, that the emperor of the West had fixed the choice of a general, or that a fleet of transports was collected at the mouth of the Rhone, he was Theodosius suddenly informed, that the great Theodosius, with a small band of veterans, had landed near A. D. 373. Igilgilis, or Gigeri, on the African coaft; and the timid usurper sunk under the ascendant of virtue and military genius. Though Firmus possessed arms and treasures, his despair of victory immediately reduced him to the use of those arts, which, in the same country, and in a similar lituation, had formerly been practifed by the crafty Jugurtha. He attempted to deceive, by an apparent submission, the vigilance of the Roman general; to seduce the fidelity of his troops; and to protract the duration of the war by fuccessively engaging the independent tribes of Africa to espouse his quarrel, or to protect his flight. Theodosius imitated the example, and obtained the fuccess, of his predecessor Me-When Firmus, in the character of a fuppliant, accused his own rashness, and humbly folicited the clemency of the emperor, the lieutenant of Valentinian received and dismissed him with a friendly embrace; but he diligently required the useful and substantial pledges of a fincere repentance; nor could he be persuaded, by the affurances of peace, to suspend, for an instant, the operations of an active war. dark conspiracy was detected by the penetration

of Theodosius; and he satisfied, without much reluctance, the public indignation, which he had secretly excited. Several of the guilty accomplices of Firmus were abandoned, according to ancient cultom, to the tumult of military execution; many more, by the amputation of both their hands, continued to exhibit an instructive spectacle of horror; the hatred of the rebels was accompanied with fear; and the fear of the Roman foldiers was mingled with respectful admiration. Amidst the boundless plains of Getula, and the innumerable vallies of Mount Atlas, it was impossible to prevent the escape of Firmus: and if the usurper could have tired the patience of his antagonist, he would have fecured his person in the depth of lome remote folitude, and expected the hopes of a future revolution. He was fubdued by the perseverance of Theodosius; who had formed an inflexible determination, that the war should end only by the death of the tyrant, and that every nation of Africa, which presumed to support his cause, should be involved in his ruin. At the head of a small body of troops, which leldom exceeded three thousand five hundred men, the Roman general advanced, with a steady prudence, devoid of rashness, or of fear, into the heart of a country, where he was fometimes attacked by armies of twenty thousand Moors. The boldness of his charge dismayed the irregular Barbarians; they were disconcerted by his feafonable and orderly retreat; they were continually baffled by the unknown resources of his military art; and they felt and confelled the just superiority, which was assumed by the leader of a civilised nation. When Theodosius entered the extensive dominions of Igmazen,

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king of the Isaflenses, the haughty savage required, in words of defiance, his name, and the object of his expedition. "I am, replied the " ftern and disdainful count, I am the general " of Valentinian, the lord of the world; who " has fent me hither to pursue and punish a " desperate robber. Deliver him instantly into " my hands; and be affured, that if thou doft " not obey the commands of my invincible fo-" vereign, thou, and the people over whom " thou reignest, shall be utterly extirpated." As foon as Igmazen was fatisfied, that his enemy had strength and resolution to execute the fatal menace, he consented to purchase a necessary peace by the facrifice of a guilty fugitive. The guards that were placed to fecure the perfon of Firmus, deprived him of the hopes of escape; and the Moorish tyrant, after wine had extinguished the sense of danger, disappointed the infulting triumph of the Romans, by strangling himself in the night. His dead body, the only present which Igmazen could offer to the conqueror, was carelessly thrown upon a camel: and Theodosius, leading back his victorious troops to Sitifi, was faluted by the warmest acclamations of joy and loyalty (123).

He is executed at Carthage,

Africa had been loft by the vices of Romanus; it was restored by the virtues of Theo-A.D. 376. dofius: and our curiofity may be usefully direcled to the inquiry of the respective treatment, which the two generals received from The authority of count Rothe Imperial court. manus had been suspended by the master-general of the cavalry; and he was committed to fafe

⁽¹²³⁾ Ammian. xxix. 5. The text of this long chapter (fifteen quarto pages) is broken and corrupted; and the narrative is perplexed by the want of chronological and geographical land-marks.

fafe and honourable custody till the end of the war. His crimes were proved by the most authentic evidence; and the public expected, with some impatience, the decree of severe justice. But the partial and powerful favour of Mellobaudes encouraged him to challenge his legal judges, to obtain repeated delays for the purpose of procuring a crowd of friendly witnesses. and, finally, to cover his guilty conduct, by the additional guilt of fraud and forgery. About the same time, the restorer of Britain and Africa, on a vague suspicion, that his name and fervices were superior to the rank of a subject, was ignominiously beheaded at Carthage. Valentinian no longer reigned; and the death of Theodofius, as well as the impunity of Romanus, may justly be imputed to the arts of the ministers who abused the confidence, and deceived the inexperienced youth, of his fons (124).

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If the geographical accuracy of Ammianus state of had been fortunately bestowed on the British Africa. exploits of Theodosius, we should have traced, with eager curiosity, the distinct and domestic sootsteps of his march. But the tedious enumeration of the unknown and uninteresting tribes of Africa may be reduced to the general remark, that they were all of the swarthy race of the Moors; that they inhabited the back settlements of the Mauritanian and Numidian provinces, the country, as they have since been termed by the Arabs, of dates and of locusts (125); and, that, as the Roman power declined

(124) Ammianus, xxviii. 4. Orofius, 1. 7. c. 33. p. 551, 552. Jerom in Chron, p. 187.

⁽¹²⁵⁾ Leo Africanus (in the Viaggi di Ramusio, tom. i. fol. 78—83.) has traced a curious picture of the people and the country; which are more minutely described in the Afrique de Marmol. tom. iii. p. 2—54.

ed in Africa, the boundary of civilifed manners and cultivated land was infenfibly contracted. Beyond the utmost limits of the Moors, the vast and inhospitable desert of the South extends above a thousand miles to the banks of the Niger. The ancients, who had a very faint and imperfect knowledge of the great peninfula of Africa, were sometimes tempted to believe, that the torrid zone must ever remain destitute of inhabitants (126): and they fometimes amused their fancy by filling the vacant space with headless men, or rather monsters (127); with homed and cloven-footed fatyrs (128); with fabulous centaurs (129); and with human pygmies, who waged a bold and doubtful warfare against the cranes (130). Carthage would have trem-

(126) This uninhabitable zone was gradually reduced, by the improvements of ancient geography, from forty-five to twenty four, or even fixteen, degrees of latitude. See a learned and judicious note of Dr. Robertson, Hist. of America, vol. i. p. 426.

(127) Intra, si credere libet, vix jam homines et magis semisti... Blemmyes, Satyri, &c. Pomponius Mela, i. 4. p. 26. edit. Vost. in 8vo. Pliny philosophically explains (vi. 35.) the irregularities of nature, which he had credulously admitted (v. 8.).

(128) If the fatyr was the Orang-outang, the great human ape (Buffon, Hift. Nat. tom. xiv. p. 43, &c.), one of that species might actually be shewn alive at Alexandria in the reign of Constantine. Yet some difficulty will still remain about the conversation which St. Anthony held with one of these pious savages in the desert of Thebais (Jerom in Vit. Paul. Emerit. tom. i. p. 238.).

(129) St. Anthony likewise met one of these monsters; whose existence was seriously afferted by the emperor Claudius. The public laughed; but his præsect of Egypt had the address to send an artful preparation, the embalmed corpse of an Hippocentaur; which was preserved almost a century afterwards in the Imperial palace. See Pliny (Hist. Natur. vii. 3.), and the judicious observations of Freret (Memoires de l'Acad. tom. vii. p. 321, &c.).

(130) The fable of the Pigmies is as old as Homer (Iliad iii. 6.). The pygmies of India and Æthiopia were (trispithami) twenty-seven inches high. Every spring their cavalry (mounted on rams and goats) marched

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bled at the strange intelligence, that the countries, on either fide of the equator, were filled with innumerable nations, who differed only in their colour from the ordinary appearance of the human species; and the subjects of the Roman empire might have anxiously expected, that the fwarms of Barbarians, which issued from the North, would foon be encountered from the South, by new swarms of Barbarians, equally fierce, and equally formidable. These gloomy terrors would indeed have been dispelled by a more intimate acquaintance with the character The inaction of the of their African enemies. negroes does not feem to be the effect, either of their virtue, or of their pufillanimity. They indulge, like the rest of mankind, their passions and appetites; and the adjacent tribes are engaged in frequent acts of hostility (131). But their rude ignorance has never invented any effectual weapons of defence, or of destruction; they appear incapable of forming any extenfive plans of government, or conquest; and the obvious inferiority of their mental faculties has been discovered and abused by the nations of the temperate zone. Sixty thousand blacks are annually embarked from the coast of Guinea, never to return to their native country; but they are embarked in chains (132): and this constant emigration, which, in the space of two centuries, might have furnished armies to over-

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in battle array, to destroy the cranes eggs, aliter (fays Pliny) futuris gregibus non resitti. Their houses were built of mud, seathers, and eggshells. See Pliny (vi. 35. vii. 2.) and Strabo (l. ii. p. 121.).

⁽¹³¹⁾ The third and fourth volumes of the valuable Histoire des Voyages describe the present state of the negroes. The nations of the sea-coast have been polished by European commerce; and those of the inland country have been improved by Moorish colonies.

⁽¹³²⁾ Histoire Philosophique et Politique, &c. tom. iv. p. 192,

run the globe, accuses the guilt of Europe, and the weakness of Africa.

IV. The A. D. 365 -378.

IV. The ignominious treaty, which faved the The Persian army of Jovian, had been faithfully executed on the fide of the Romans: and as they had folemnly renounced the fovereignty and alliance of Armenia and Iberia, those tributary kingdoms were exposed, without protection, to the arms of the Persian monarch (133). Sapor entered the Armenian territories at the head of a formidable host of cuirassiers, of archers, and of mercenary foot; but it was the invariable practice of Sapor to mix war and negociation, and to confider falsehood and perjury as the most powerful instruments of regal policy. He affected to praise the prudent and moderate conduct of the king of Armenia; and the unfufpicious Tiranus was perfuaded, by the repeated affurances of infidious friendship, to deliver his person into the hands of a faithless and cruel enemy. In the midst of a splendid entertainment, he was bound in chains of filver, as an honour due to the blood of the Arfacides; and, after a short confinement in the Tower of Oblivion at Ecbatana, he was released from the miseries of life, either by his own dagger, or by that of The kingdom of Armenia was rean aslassin. duced to the state of a Persian province; the administration was shared between a distinguished satrap and a favourite eunuch; and Sapor marched without delay, to fubdue the mar-Sauromaces, who tial spirit of the Iberians. reigned reigne empe as an of ki abject fa (1: prefu fure d avario the w cited despe Perlia walls fally 4 were hopel the ft and bellio tive a **fpicio** the fo ready deper try is peopl macio liged

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⁽¹³³⁾ The evidence of Ammianus is original and decifive (xxvii. 12). Moses of Chorene (l. iii. c. 17. p. 249. and c. 34. p. 269.), and Procopius (de Bell. Persico, I. i. c. 5. p. 17. edit. Louvre), have been consulted : but those historians, who confound distinct facts, repeat the same events, and introduce strange stories, must be used with diffidence and caution.

reigned in that country by the permission of the emperors, was expelled by a superior force; and, as an infult to the majesty of Rome, the King of kings placed a diadem on the head of his abject vallal Aspacuras. The city of Artogeras-(134) was the only place of Armenia, which prefumed to relift the effort of his arms. The treafure deposited in that strong fortress tempted the avarice of Sapor; but the danger of Olympias, the wife, or widow, of the Armenian king, excited the public compassion, and animated the desperate valour of her subjects and soldiers. The Perlians were furprized and repulied under the walls of Artogerasia, by a bold and well-concerted fally of the besieged. But the forces of Sapor were continually renewed and increased; the hopeless courage of the garrison was exhausted; the strength of the walls yielded to the assault; and the proud conqueror, after wasting the rebellious city with fire and fword, led away captive an unfortunate queen; who, in a more auipicious hour, had been the destined bride of the fon of Constantine (135). Yet if Sapor already triumphed in the easy conquest of two dependent kingdoms, he soon felt, that a country is unsubdued, as long as the minds of the people are actuated by an hostile and contumacious spirit. The satraps, whom he was obliged to trust, embraced the first opportunity of regaining the affection of their countrymen, and of fignalizing their immortal hatred to the

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⁽¹³⁴⁾ Perhaps Artagera, or Ardis; under whose walls Caius, the grandson of Augustus, was wounded. This fortress was situate above Amida, near one of the sources of the Tigris. See d'Anville, Geographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 106.

⁽¹³⁵⁾ Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 701.) proves, from chronology, that Olympias must have been the mother of Para.

Perfian name. Since the conversion of the Armenians and Iberians, those nations considered the Christians as the favourites, and the Magians as the adversaries, of the Supreme Being; the influence of the clergy, over a superstitious people, was uniformly exerted in the cause of Rome: and as long as the successors of Constantine disputed with those of Artaxerxes the fovereignty of the intermediate provinces, the religious connexion always threw a decifive advantage into the scale of the empire. A numerous and active party acknowledged Para, the fon of Tiranus, as the lawful fovereign of Armenia; and his title to the throne was deeply rooted in the hereditary succession of five hundred years. By the unanimous confent of the Iberians, the country was equally divided between the rival princes; and Aspacuras, who owed his diadem to the choice of Sapor, was obliged to declare, that his regard for his children, who were detained as hostages by the tyrant, was the only confideration, which prevented him from openly renouncing the alliance of Persia. The emperor Valens, who respected the obligations of the treaty, and who was apprehensive of involving the East in a dangerous war, ventured, with flow and cautious measures, to support the Roman party in the kingdoms of Iberia and Armenia. Twelve legions established the authority of Sauromaces on the banks of the Cyrus. The Euphrates was protected by the valour of Arintheus. A powerful army, under the command of count Trajan, and of Vadomair, king of the Alemanni, fixed their camp on the confines of Armenia. But they were strictly enjoined, not to commit the first hostilities, which might be understood as a breach of

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the treaty: and such was the implicit obedience of the Roman general, that they retreated, with exemplary patience, under a shower of Persian arrows, till they had clearly acquired a just title to an honourable and legitimate victory. Yet these appearances of war insensibly subsided in The contenda vain and tedious negociation. ing parties supported their claims by mutual reproaches of perfidy and ambition; and it should feem, that the original treaty was expressed in very obscure terms, fince they were reduced to the necessity of making their inconclusive appeal to the partial testimony of the generals of the two nations, who had affisted at The invasion of the the negociations (136). Goths and Huns, which foon afterwards shook the foundations of the Roman empire, exposed the provinces of Afia to the arms of Sapor. But the declining age, and perhaps the infirmities, of the monarch, suggested new maxims of tranquillity and moderation. His death, which hap-A. D. 80: pened in the full maturity of a reign of feventy years, changed in a moment the court and councils of Perlia; and their attention was most probably engaged by domestic troubles, and the distant efforts of a Carmanian war (137). The remembrance of ancient injuries was loft

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(136) Ammianus (xxvii. 12. xxix. 1. xxx. 1, 2.) has described the events, without the dates of the Persian war. Moses of Chorene (Hist-Armen. l. iii. c. 28. p. 261. c. 31. p. 266. c. 35. p. 271.) affords some additional facts; but it is extremely difficult to separate truth from

(137) Artaxerxes was the successor and brother (the confin-german) of the great Sapor; and the guardian of his fon Sapor III. (Agathias, 1. W. p. 136. edit. Louvre.) See the Universal History, vol. xi. p. 86. 161. The authors of that unequal work have compiled the Sassanian dynasty with crudition and diligence: but it is a preposterous arrangement to divide the Roman and Oriental accounts into two diffine hif-

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The treaty in the enjoyment of peace. The kingdoms A.D. 384. of Armenia and Iberia were permitted, by the mutual, though tacit, consent of both empires, to resume their doubtful neutrality. In the first years of the reign of Theodosius, a Persian embaffy arrived at Constantinople, to excuse the unjustifiable measures of the former reign; and to offer, as the tribute of friendship, or even of respect, a splendid present of gems, of silk, and of Indian elephants (138).

Adventures of Para, king of Ar menia.

In the general picture of the affairs of the East under the reign of Valens, the adventures of Para form one of the most striking and fingular objects. The noble youth, by the perfuasion of his mother Olympias, had escaped through the Persian host that besieged Artogeraffa, and implored the protection of the emperor of the East. By his timid councils, Para was alternately supported, and recalled, and restored, and betrayed. The hopes of the Armenians were fometimes raifed by the prefence of their natural fovereign; and the ministers of Valens were fatisfied, that they preserved the integrity of the public faith, if their vassal was not suffered to assume the diadem and title of king. But they foon repented of their own They were confounded by the reproaches and threats of the Perlian monarch. They found reason to distrust the cruel and inconstant temper of Para himself: who facrificed, to the flightest suspicions, the lives of his most faithful servants; and held a secret and difgraceful correspondence with the affassin of his father.

⁽¹³⁸⁾ Pacatus in Panegyr. Vet. xii. 22. and Orofius, I. vii. c. 31. Ichumque tum fædus est, quo universus Oriens usque ad nunc (A. D. 416.) tranquilliffime fruitur.

father, and the enemy of his country. Under the spacious pretence of consulting with the emperor on the subject of their common interest. Para was persuaded to descend from the mountains of Armenia, where his party was in arms, and to truth his independence and fafety to the discretion of a perfidious court. The king of Armenia, for such he appeared in his own eyes, and in those of his nation, was received with due honours by the governors of the provinces through which he passed; but when he arrived at Tarfus in Cicilia, his progress was stopped under various pretences; his motions were watched with respectful vigilance; and he gradually discovered, that he was a prisoner in the hands of the Romans. Para suppressed his indignation, dissembled his fears, and, after secretly preparing his escape, mounted on horseback with three hundred of his faithful follow-The officer stationed at the door of his apartment immediately communicated his flight to the confular of Cicilia, who overtook him in the suburbs, and endeavoured without success, to dilluade him from profecuting his rash and dangerous delign. A legion was ordered to purfue the royal fugitive; but the purfuit of infantry could not be very alarming to a body of light cavalry: and upon the first cloud of arrows that was discharged into the air, they retreated with precipitation to the gates of Tar-After an incessant march of two days and two nights, Para and his Armenians reached the banks of the Euphrates; but the passage of the river, which they were obliged to fwim, was attended with some delay and some loss. country was alarmed; and the two roads, which were only separated by an interval of three miles,

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miles, had been occupied by a thousand archers on horseback, under the command of a count and a tribune. Para must have yielded to superior force, if the accidental arrival of a friend. ly traveller had not revealed the danger, and the means of escape. A dark and almost im. pervious path fecurely conveyed the Armenian troop through the thicket; and Para had left behind him the count and the tribune, while they patiently expected his approach along the public highways. They returned to the Impereal court to excuse their want of diligence or fuccess: and seriously alleged, that the king of Armenia, who was a skilful magician, had transformed himself and his followers, and passed before their eyes under a borrowed shape. After his return to his native kingdom, Para still continued to profess himself the friend and ally of the Romans; but the Romans had injured him too deeply ever to forgive, and the fecret fentence of his death was figned in the council of Valens. The execution of the bloody deed was committed to the fubtle prudence of Count Trajan; and he had the merit of inlinuating himself into the confidence of the credulous prince, that he might find an opportunity of stabbing him to the heart. Para was invited to a Roman banquet, which had been prepared with all the pomp and fenfuality of the East: the hall resounded with cheerful music, and the company was already heated with wine; when the count retired for an instant, drew his sword, and gave the fignal of the murder. A robust and desperate Barbarian instantly rushed on the king of Armenia; and though he bravely defended his life with the first weapon that chance offered to his hand, the table of the Imperial gene-

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(139) Chorene of his for and prov &c.).

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(140) feems to fowed fr guest, and an ally. Such were the weak and wicked maxims of the Roman administration, that to attain a doubtful object of political interest, the laws of nations, and the sacred rights of hospitality, were inhumanly violated in the

face of the world (139).

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V. During a peaceful interval of thirty years, V. THE the Romans secured their frontiers, and the Conquests of Goths extended their dominions. The victories Hermanric. of the great Hermanric (140), king of the Offrogoths, and the most noble of the race of Amali, have been compared, by the enthuliasm of his countrymen, to the exploits of Alexander: with this fingular, and almost incredible, difference, that the martial spirit of the Gothic hero, instead of being supported by the vigour of youth, was displayed with glory and success in the extreme period of human life; between the age of fourscore and one hundred and ten years. The independent tribes were persuaded, or compelled, to acknowledge the king of the Offrogoths as the fovereign of the Gothic nation: the chiefs of the Visigoths, or Thervingi, renounced the royal title, and assumed the more humble appellation of Judges; and, among those judges, Athanaric, Fritigern, and Alavivus, were the most illustrious, by their personal merit, as well as by their vicinity to the Roman provinces. Thele

⁽¹³⁹⁾ See in Ammianus (xx. 1.) the adventures of Para. Moses of Chorene calls him Tiridates; and tells a long, and not improbable, story of his son Gnelus; who afterwards made himself popular in Armenia, and provoked the jealousy of the reigning king (l. iii. c. 21, &c. p. 253, &c.).

⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ The concile account of the reign and conquests of Hermannic, seems to be one of the valuable fragments which Jornandes (c. 28.) bortowed from the Gothic histories of Ablavius, or Cassiodorius.

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These domestic conquests, which increased the military power of Hermanric, enlarged his ambitious designs. He invaded the adjacent countries of the North; and twelve considerable nations; whose names and limits cannot be accurately defined, successively yielded to the superiority of the Gothic arms (141). The Heruli, who inhabited the marshy lands near the lake Mæotis, were renowned for their strength and agility; and the affiftance of their light-infantry was eagerly folicited, and highly esteemed, in all the wars of the Barbarians. But the active spirit of the Heruli was subdued by the flow and fleady perseverance of the Goths; and, after a bloody action, in which the king was flain, the remains of that warlike tribe became an useful accession to the camp of Hermanric. He then marched against the Venedi; unskilled in the use of arms, and formidable only by their numbers, which filled the wide extent of The victorious the plains of modern Poland. Goths, who were not inferior in numbers, prevailed in the contest, by the decisive advantages of exercise and discipline. After the submission of the Venedi, the conqueror advanced, without relistance, as far as the confines of the Æstii (142); an ancient people, whose name is still preserved in the province of Esthonia.

⁽¹⁴¹⁾ M. de Buat (Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. vi. p. 311-329.) investigates, with more industry than success, the nations subdued by the arms of Hermanric. He denies the existence of the Vasinobranca, on account of the immoderate length of their name. Yet the French envoy to Ratisbon, or Dresden, must have traversed the country of the Mediematrici.

⁽¹⁴²⁾ The edition of Grotius (Jornandes, p. 642.) exhibits the name of Æstri. But reason, and the Ambrosian MS. have restored the Æstri, whose manners and situation are expressed by the pencil of Tacitus (Geramania, c. 45.).

Those distant inhabitants of the Baltic coast were supported by the labours of agriculture, enriched by the trade of amber, and confecrated by the peculiar worship of the Mother of the But the scarcity of iron obliged the Estian warriors to content themselves with wooden clubs; and the reduction of that wealthy country is alcribed to the prudence, rather than to the arms, of Hermanric. His dominions, which extended from the Danube to the Baltic, included the native feats, and the recent acquisitions of the Goths; and he reigned over the greatest part of Germany and Scythia with the authority of a conqueror, and sometimes with the cruelty of a tyrant. But he reigned over a part of the globe incapable of perpetuating and adorning the glory of its heroes. The name of Hermanric is almost buried in oblivion; his exploits are imperfectly known; and the Romans themselves appeared unconscious of the progress of an aspiring power, which threatened the liberty of the North, and the peace of the empire (143).

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Effin, s (Gera The Goths had contracted an hereditary at-The cause of tachment for the Imperial house of Constantine, the Gothic of whose power and liberality they had received A. D. 366. so many signal proofs. They respected the public peace: and if an hostile band sometimes presumed to pass the Roman limit, their irregular conduct was candidly ascribed to the ungovernable spirit of the Barbarian youth. Their contempt for two new and obscure princes, who had been raised to the throne by a popular election, inspired the Goths with bolder hopes; and, Vol. IV.

⁽¹⁴³⁾ Ammianus (xxxi. 3.) observes, in general terms: Ermenrich?
... nobilissimi Regis, et, per multa variaque fortiter sacta, vicinis gentibus formidita. &c.

while they agitated fome design of marching their confederate force under the national standard (144), they were easily tempted to embrace the party of Procopius; and to foment, by their dangerous aid, the civil discord of the Romans. The public treaty might stipulate no more than ten thousand auxiliaries: but the design was so zealously adopted by the chiefs of the Visigoths. that the army which passed the Danube amounted to the number of thirty thousand men (145). They marched with the proud confidence, that their invincible valour would decide the fate of the Roman empire; and the provinces of Thrace groaned under the weight of the Barbarians, who displayed the insolence of masters, and the licentiousness of enemies. But the intemperance which gratified their appetites, retarded their progress; and before the Goths could receive any certain intelligence of the defeat and death of Procopius, they perceived, by the hoftile state of the country, that the civil and military powers were refumed by his fuccessful rival. A chain of posts and fortifications, skilfully difposed by Valens, or the generals of Valens, refisted their march, prevented their retreat, and intercepted their subfistence. The fierceness of the Barbarians was tamed and fuspended by hunger: they indignantly threw down their arms at the feet of the conqueror, who offered them food and chains; the numerous captives

(144) Valens docetur relationibus Ducum, gentem Gothorum, ea tempestate intactam ideoque sævissimam, conspirantem in unum, ad pervadendam parari collimitia Thraciarum. Ammian. xxvi. 6.

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⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ M. de Buat (Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. vi. p. 332.) has curiously affertained the real number of these auxiliaries. The 3000 Ammianus, and the 10,000 of Zosimus, were only the first divisions of the Gothic army.

were distributed in all the cities of the East; and the provincials, who were foon familiarized with their favage appearance, ventured, by degrees, to measure their own strength with these formidable adverfaries, whose name had so long been the object of their terror. The king of Scythia land Hermanric alone could deferve so lofty a title) was grieved and exasperated by this national calamity. His ambaffadors loudly complained, at the court of Valens, of the infraction of the ancient and folemn alliance, which had so long sublisted between the Romans and the Goths. They alleged, that they had fulfilled the duty of allies, by affifting the kiniman and fuccessor of the emperor Julian; they required the immediate restitution of the noble captives; and they urged a very fingular claim, that the Gothic generals, marching in arms, and in hoftile array, were entitled to the facred character The decent, and privileges of ambassadors. but peremptory, refusal of these extravagant demands, was fignified to the Barbarians by Victor, master-general of the cavalry; who expressed, with force and dignity, the just complaints of the emperor of the East (146). The negociation was interrupted; and the manly exhortations of Valentinian encouraged his timid brother to vindicate the infulted majesty of the empire (147).

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The 3000 ivisions of (146) The march, and subsequent negociations, are described in the fragments of Eunapius (Excerpt. Legat. p. 18. edit. Louvre). The provincials, who afterwards became samiliar with the Barbarians, sound that their strength was more apparent than real. They were tall of stature ; but their legs were clumfy, and their shoulders were narrow.

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(147) Valens enim, ut consulto placuerat fratri, cujus regebatur arbitio, arma concussit in Gothos ratione justa permotus. Ammianus xxvii.

4) then proceeds to describe, not the country of the Goths, but the peaceful and obedient province of Thrace, which was not affected by the

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Hostilities, and peace, A. D. 367, 368, 369.

The splendour and magnitude of this Gothic war are celebrated by the contemporary historian (148): but the events scarcely deserve the attention of posterity, except as the preliminary steps of the approaching decline and fall of the empire. Instead of leading the nations of Germany and Scythia to the banks of the Danube, or even to the gates of Constantinople, the aged monarch of the Goths refigned to the brave Athanaric the danger and glory of a defensive war, against an enemy, who wielded with a feeble hand the powers of a mighty state. A bridge of boats was established upon the Danube; the presence of Valens animated his troops; and his ignorance of the art of war was compensated by personal bravery, and a wife deference to the advice of Victor and Arintheus, his masters-general of the cavalry and infantry. The operations of the campaign were conducted by their skill and experience; but they found it impossible to drive the Visigoths from their strong posts in the mountains: and the devastation of the plains obliged the Romans themselves to repass the Danube on the approach of winter. The inceffant rains, which swelled the waters of the river, produced a tacit suspension of arms, and confined the emperor Valens, during the whole course of the enfuing fummer, to his camp of Marcianapolis. The third year of the war was more favourable to the Romans, and more pernicious to the The interruption of trade deprived the Barbarians of the objects of luxury, which they already

⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ Eunapius, in Excerpt. Legat. p. 18, 19. The Greek fophilismust have considered as one and the fame war, the whole series of Gothic history till the victories and peace of Theodosius.

already confounded with the necessaries of life; and the desolation of a very extensive tract of country threatened them with the horrors of famine. Athanaric was provoked, or compelled, to risk a battle, which he lost, in the plains; and the pursuit was rendered more bloody by the cruel precaution of the victorious generals, who had promised a large reward for the head of every Goth, that was brought into the Im-The submission of the Barbarians perial camp. appealed the resentment of Valens and his council; the emperor listened with satisfaction to the flattering and eloquent remonstrance of the fenate of Constantinople, which assumed, for the first time, a share in the public deliberations; and the same generals, Victor and Arintheus, who had fuccessfully directed the conduct of the war, were empowered to regulate the conditions of peace. The freedom of trade, which the Goths had hitherto enjoyed, was restricted to two cities on the Danube; the rashness of their leaders was severely punished by the suppression of their pensions and subsidies; and the exception, which was stipulated in favour of Athanaric alone, was more advantageous than honourable to the Judge of the Viligoths. Athanaric, who, on this occasion, appears to have confulted his private interest, without expecting the orders of his fovereign, fupported his own dignity, and that of his tribe, in the personal interview which was proposed by the ministers of Valens. He persisted in his declaration, that it was impossible for him, without incurring the guilt of perjury, ever to fet his toot on the territory of the empire; and it is more than probable, that his regard for the lanctity of an oath was confirmed by the recent

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cent and fatal examples of Roman treachery. The Danube, which separated the dominions of the two independent nations, was chosen for scene of the conference. The Emperor of the East, and the Judge of the Visigoths, accompanied by an equal number of armed followers, advanced in their respective barges to the middle of the stream. After the ratification of the treaty, and the delivery of hostages, Valens returned in triumph to Constantinople; and the Goths remained in a state of tranquility about fix years; till they were violently impelled against the Roman empire, by an innumerable host of Scythians, who appeared to issue from the frozen regions of the North (149).

War of the

The emperor of the West, who had resigned Sarmatians, to his brother the command of the Lower Da-A.D. 374. nube, referved for his immediate care the defence of the Rhætian and Illyrian provinces, which spread so many hundred miles along the greatest of the European rivers. The active policy of Valentinian was continually employed in adding new fortifications to the fecurity of the frontier: but the abuse of this policy provoked the just resentment of the Barbarians. The Quadi complained, that the ground for an intended fortress had been marked out on their territories; and their complaints were urged with fo much reason and moderation, that Equitius, mafter-general of Illyricum, consented to fuspend the profecution of the work, till he should

> (149) The Gothic war is described by Ammianus (xxvii. 5.), Zosimus (l. iv. p. 211-214.), and Themissius (Orat. x. p. 129-141.). The orator Themistius was fent from the senate of Constantinople to congratulate the victorious emperor; and his servile eloquence compares Valens on the Danube, to Achilles in the Scamander. Jornandes forgets a war peculiar to the Vifi-Goths, and inglorious to the Gothic name. (Mascon's Hills of the Germans, vii. 3.).

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should be more clearly informed of the will of his fovereign. This fair occasion of injuring a rival, and of advancing the fortune of his fon, was eagerly embraced by the inhuman Maximin, the præfect, or rather tyrant of Gaul. The passions of Valentinian were impatient of controul; and he credulously listened to the affurances of his favourite, that if the government of Valeria, and the direction of the work, were entrusted to the zeal of his fon Marcellinus, the emperor should no longer be importuned with the audacious remonstrances of the Barbarians. The subjects of Rome, and the natives of Germany, were insulted by the arrogance of a young and worthless minister, who considered his rapid elevation as the proof and reward of superior merit. He affected, however, to receive the modest application of Gabinius, king of the Quadi, with some attention and regard: but this artful civility concealed a dark and bloody defign. and the credulous prince was perfuaded to accept the pressing invitation of Marcellinus. I am at a lois how to vary the narrative of limilar crimes; or how to relate, that, in the course of the same year, but in remote parts of the empire, the inhospitable table of two Imperial generals was stained with the royal blood of two guests and allies, inhumanly murdered by their order, and in their presence. The fate of Gabinus, and of Para, was the same: but the cruel death of their fovereign was relented in a very different manner by the fervile temper of the Armenians, and the free and daring spirit of the Germans. The Quadi were much declined from that formidable power, which, in the time of Marcus Antonius, had spread terror to the gates of Rome. But they still possessed arms and courage; their courage was animated by despair, and they obtained the usual reinforcement of the cavalry of their Sarmatian allies. So improvident was the affaffin Marcellinus, that he chose the moment when the bravest veterans had been drawn away, to suppress the revolt of Firmus; and the whole province was exposed, with a very feeble defence, to the rage of the exasperated Barbarians. They invaded Pannonia in the season of harvest; unmercifully destroyed every object of plunder which they could not eafily transport; and either difregarded, or demolished, the empty fortifications. The princess Constantia, the daughter of the empero Constantius, and the grand daughter of the great Constantine, very narrowly escaped. That royal maid, who had innocently supported the revolt of Procopius, was now the destined wife of the heir of the Western empire. traversed the peaceful province with a splendid and unarmed train. Her person was saved from danger, and the republic from difgrace, by the active zeal of Messalla, governor of the provinces. As foon as he was informed that the village, where the stopped only to dine, was almost encompassed by the Barbarians, he hastily placed her in his own chariot, and drove full speed till he reached the gates of Sirmium, which were at the distance of fix and twenty miles. Even Sirmium might not have been fecure, if the Quadi and Sarmatians had diligently advanced during the general consternation of the magistrates and people. Their delay allowed Probus, the Prætorian præfect, sufficient time to recover his own spirits, and to revive the courage of the citizens. He skilfully directed their strenuous efforts to repair and ftrengthen.

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strengthen the decayed fortifications; and procured the feafonable and effectual affiftance of a company of archers, to protect the capital of the Illyrian provinces. Disappointed in their attempts against the walls of Sirmium, the indignant Barbarians turned their arms against the mafter general of the frontier, to whom they unjustly attributed the murder of their Equitius could bring into the field no more than two legions; but they contained the veteran strength of the Mæsian and Pannonian The obstinacy with which they disputed the vain honours of rank and precedency, was the cause of their destruction; and, while they acted with separate forces and divided councils, they were surprised and slaughtered by the active vigour of the Sarmatian horse. The fuccess of this invasion provoked the emulation of the bordering tribes; and the province of Mæsia would infallibly have been lost, if young Theodofius, the duke, or military commander, of the frontier, has not lignalised, in the defeat of the public enemy, an intrepid genius, worthy of his illustrious father, and of his future greatness (150).

The mind of Valentinian, who then resided The Expediat Treves, was deeply affected by the calamities tion, of Illyricum; but the lateness of the season sufpended the execution of his designs till the ensuing spring. He marched in person, with a con-A. D. 375. siderable part of the forces of Gaul, from the banks of the Moselle: and to the suppliant ambassadors of the Sarmatians, who met him on the

⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ Ammianus (xxix. 6.) and Zosimus (l. iv. p. 219, 220.) carefully mark the origin and propress of the Quadic and Sarmatian war.

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the way, he returned a doubtful answer, that, as foon as he reached the scene of action, he should examine, and pronounce. When he arrived at Sirmium, he gave audience to the deputies of the Illyrian provinces; who loudly congratulated their own felicity under the auspicious government of Probus, his Prætorian præfect (151). lentinian, who was flattered by these demonstrations of their loyalty and gratitude, imprudently asked the deputy of Epirus, a Cynic philosopher of intrepid fincerity (152), whether he was freely fent by the wishes of the province? "With " tears and groans am I fent (replied Iphicles) "by a reluctant people." The emperor paused: but the impunity of his ministers established the pernicious maxim, that they might oppress his subjects, without injuring his service. A strict inquiry into their conduct would have relieved The fevere condemnation the public discontent. of the murder of Gabinius, was the only measure which could reftore the confidence of the Germans, and vindicate the honour of the Roman name. But the haughty monarch was incapable of the magnanimity which dares to acknowledge a fault.

⁽¹⁵¹⁾ Ammianus (xxx. 5.), who acknowledges the merit, hath cenfured, with becoming asperity, the oppressive administration of Petronius Probus. When Jerom translated, and continued, the Chronicle
of Eusebius (A. D. 380. See Tillemont, Mem. Eccles. tom. xii. p. 53.
626.), he expressed the truth, or at least the public opinion of his
country, in the following words: "Probus P. P. Illyrici. iniquissimis
tributorum exactionibus, ante provincias quas regebat, quam a Barbaris vestarentur, erast." (Chron. edit. Scaliger, p. 187. Animadp. 259.) The Saint asterwards formed an intimate and tender friendship
with the widow of Probus; and the name of Count Equitius, with less
propriety, but without much injustice, has been substituted in the
text.

⁽¹⁵²⁾ Julian (Orat. vi. p. 198.) represents his friend Iphicles as a man of virtue and merit, who had made himself ridiculous and unhappy by adopting the extravagant dress and manners of the Cynics.

He forgot the provocation, remembered only the injury, and advanced into the country of the Quadi with an infatiate thirst of blood The extreme devastation, and and revenge. promiscuous massacre, of a savage war, were justified, in the eyes of the emperor, and perhaps in those of the world, by the cruel equity of retaliation (153): and fuch was the discipline of the Romans, and the consternation of the enemy, that Valentinian repassed the Danube without the loss of a fingle man. As he had resolved to complete the destruction of the Quadi by a fecond campaign, he fixed his winter-quarters at Bregetio, on the Danube, near the Hungarian city of Presburgh. While the operations of war were suspended by the severity of the weather, the Quadi made an humble attempt to deprecate the wrath of their conqueror; and, at the earnest persuasion of Equitius, their ambasfadors were introduced into the Imperial council. They approached the throne with bended bodies. and dejected countenances; and, without daring to complain of the murder of their king, they affirmed, with folemn oaths, that the late invafion was the crime of fome irregular robbers, which the public council of the nation con-The answer of the emdemned and abhorred. peror left them but little to hope from his cle-He reviled, in the most mency or compatition. intemperate language, their baseness, their ingratitude, their infolence.—His eyes, his voice, his colour, his gestures, expressed the violence of his ungoverned fury; and, while his whole frame was agitated with convultive pattion, a large

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⁽¹⁵³⁾ Ammian. xxx. v. Jerom, who exaggerates the misfortune of Valentinian, refuses him even this last consolation of revenge. Genitals vastato solo, et inultam patriam derelinquens (tom. i. p. 26.).

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THE DECLINE AND FALL

large blood-vessel suddenly burst in his body: and Valentinian fell speechless into the arms of his attendants. Their pious care immediately concealed his fituation from the crowd: but, in a few minutes, the Emperor of the West expired of Valenti- in an agony of pain, retaining his senses till the last; and struggling, without success, to declare 345 his intentions to the generals and ministers, who

November 17th.

A. D. 575 furrounded the royal couch. Valentinian was about fifty-four years of age; and he wanted only one hundred days to accomplish the twelve years of his reign (154).

The polygamy of Valentinian is feriously at-The empetested by an ecclesiastical historian (155). "The rors Gratian : empress Severa (I relate the fable) admitted inand Valen-" to her familiar fociety the lovely Justina, the tinian II.

" daughter of an Italian governor: her admira-" ration of those naked charms, which she had " often feen in the bath, was expressed with such

" lavish and imprudent praise, that the emperor " was tempted to introduce a fecond wife into

" his bed; and his public edict extended to all " the subjects of the empire, the same domestic " privilege, which he had affumed for himself." But we may be affured, from the evidence of reason, as well as history, that the two marri-

ages of Valentinian, with Severa, and with Tuftina, J

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(154) See, on the death of Valentinian, Ammianus (xxx. 6.), Zofi--mus 1. iv. p. 221.), Victor (in Epitom.), Socrates (l. iv. c. 31.), and Jerom (in Chron. p. 187, and tom. i. p. 26. ad Heriodor.). There is such variety of circumstances among them; and Ammianus is so eloquent, that he writes nonfense.

(155) Socrates (l. iv. c. 31.) is the only original witness of this foolish flory, to repugnant to the laws and manners of the Romans, that it scarcely deserve the formal and elaborate differtation of M. Bonamy (Mem. de l'Academie, tom. xxx. p. 394-405.). Yet I would preferve the natural circumstance of the bath; instead of following Zosimus, who represents Justina as an old woman, the widow of Magnentius.

Justina, were successively contracted; and that he used the ancient permission of divorce, which was still allowed by the laws, though it was condemned by the church. Severa was the mother of Gratian, who feemed to unite every claim which could entitle him to the undoubted succession of the Western empire. He was the eldest son of a monarch, whose glorious reign had confirmed the free and honourable choice of his fellow-foldiers. Before he had attained the ninth year of his age, the royal youth received from the hands of his indulgent father the purple robe and diadem, with the title of Augustus: the election was folemnly ratified by the confent and applause of the armies of Gaul (156); and the name of Gratian was added to the names of Valentinian and Valens, in all the legal transactions of the Roman government. By his marriage with the grand-daughter of Constantine, the fon of Valentinian acquired all the hereditary rights of the Flavian family; which, in a feries of three Imperial generations, were fanctified by time, religion, and the reverence of the people. At the death of his father, the royal youth was in the seventeenth year of his age; and his virtues already justified the favourable opinion of But Gratian relided, the army and people. without apprehension, in the palace of Treves: whilst, at the distance of many hundred miles, Valentinian fuddenly expired in the camp of Bregetio. The passions, which had been so long suppressed by the presence of a master, immediately revived in the Imperial council; and the ambitious delign of reigning in the name of an infant,

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⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ Ammianus (xxvii. 6.) describes the form of the military election and august investiture. Valentinian does not appear to have consulted, or even informed, the senate of Rome.

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infant, was artfully executed by Mellobaudes and Equitius, who commanded the attachment of the Illyrian and Italian bands. They contrived the most honourable pretences to remove the popular leaders, and the troops of Gaul, who might have afferted the claims of the lawful fuccessor: they suggested the necessity of extinguishing the hopes of foreign and domestic enemies, by a bold and decifive measure. The empress Justina, who had been left in a palace about one hundred miles from Bregetio, was respectfully invited to appear in the camp, with the fon of the deceased emperor. On the fixth day after the death of Valentinian, the infant prince of the same name, who was only four years old, was shewn, in the arms of his mother, to the legions; and folemnly invested, by military acclamation, with the titles and enfigns of fupreme power. The impending dangers of a civil war were feafonably prevented by the wife and moderate conduct of the emperor Gratian. He cheerfully accepted the choice of the army; declared, that he should always consider the son of Justina as a brother, not as a rival; and advised the empress, with her fon Valentinian, to fix their residence at Milan, in the fair and peaceful province of Italy; while he affumed the more arduous command of the countries beyond the Alps. Gratian diffembled his refentment till he could safely punish, or disgrace, the authors of the conspiracy; and though he uniformly behaved with tenderness and regard to his infant colleague, he gradually confounded, in the administration of the Western empire, the office of a guardian with the authority of a fove-The government of the Roman world was exercised in the united names of Valens and his his two nephews; but the feeble Emperor of the East, who succeeded to the rank of his elder brother, never obtained any weight or influence in the councils of the West (157).

(157) Ammianus, xxx. 10. Zosimus, l. iv. p. 222, 223. Tillemont has proved (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 707—709.). that Gratian reigned in Italy, Africa, and Illyricum. I have endeavoured to express his authority over his brother's dominions, as he used it, in an ambiguous style.

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Manners of the Pastoral Nations.—Progress of the Huns, from China to Europe.—Flight of the Goths.—They pass the Danube.—Gothic War.—Defeat and Death of Valens.—Gratian invests Theodosius with the Eastern Empire.—His Character and Success.—Peace and Settlement of the Goths.

Earthquakes, A. D. 365. July 21st.

IN the second year of the reign of Valentinian and Valens, on the morning of the twentyfirst day of July, the greatest part of the Roman world was shaken by a violent and destructive The impression was communicated earthquake. to the waters; the shores of the Mediterranean were left dry, by the fudden retreat of the fea; great quantities of fish were caught with the hand; large vellels were stranded on the mud; and a curious spectator (1) amused his eye, or rather his fancy, by contemplating the various appearance of vallies and mountains, which had never, fince the formation of the globe, been exposed to the fun. But the tide foon returned, with the weight of an immense and irrefistible deluge, which was feverely felt on the coasts of Sicily, of Dalmatia, of Greece, and of Egypt: large boats were transported, and lodged on the roofs of houses, or at the distance of two miles from

⁽¹⁾ Such is the bad taste of Ammianus (xxvi. 10.), that it is not easy to distinguish his facts from his metaphors. Yet he positively affirms, that he saw the rotten carcase of a ship, ad secundum lapidem, at Methone, or Modon, in Petoponnesus.

from the shore; the people, with their habitations, were swept away by the waters; and the city of Alexandria annually commemorated the fatal day, on which fifty thousand persons had lost their lives in the inundation. This calamity, the report of which was magnified from one province to another, aftonished and terrified the subjects of Rome; and their affrighted imagination enlarged the real extent of a momentary They recollected the preceding earthquakes, which had subverted the cities of Palestine and Bithynia: they confidered these alarming strokes as the prelude only of still more dreadful calamities, and their fearful vanity was disposed to confound the symptoms of a declining empire, and a finking world (2). It was the fashion of the times, to attribute every remarkable event to the particular will of the Deity; the alterations of nature were connected, by an invisible chain, with the moral and metaphylical opinions of the human mind; and the most sagacious divines could diffinguish, according to the colour of their respective prejudices, that the establishment of herefy tended to produce an earthquake; or that a deluge was the inevitable confequence of the progress of sin and error. Without preluming to discuss the truth or propriety of these lofty speculations, the historian may content VOL. IV. himself

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⁽²⁾ The earthquakes and inundations are variously described by Libanius (Orat. de ulciscendâ Juliani nece, c. x. in Fabricius, Bibl. Græc. tom. vii. p. 158. with a learned note of Olearius), Zosimus (l. iv. p. 221.), Sozomen (l. vi. c. 2.), Cedrenns (p. 310. 314), and Jerom (in Chron. p. 186. and tom. i. p. 250. in Vit. Hilarion. Epidaurus must have been overwhelmed, had not the prudent citizens placed St. Hilarion, an Egyptian monk, on the beach. He made the sign of the cross. The mountain wave stopped, bowed, and returned.

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himself with an observation, which seems to be justified by experience, that man has much more to fear from the passions of his fellow-creatures. than from the convulsions of the elements (3). The mischievous effects of an earthquake, or deluge, a hurricane, or the eruption of a volcano. bear a very inconfiderable proportion to the ordinary calamities of war; as they are now moderated by the prudence or humanity of the princes of Europe, who amuse their own leisure, and exercise the courage of their subjects, in the practice of the military art. But the laws and manners of modern nations protect the fafety and freedom of the vanquished foldier; and the peaceful citizen has feldom reason to complain, that his life, or even his fortune, is exposed to the rage of war. In the difastrous period of the fall of the Roman empire, which may justly be dated from the reign of Valens, the happiness and fecurity of each individual were personally attacked; and the arts and labours of ages were rudely defaced by the Barbarians of Scythia and Germany. The invasion of the Huns precipitated on the provinces of the West the Gothic nation, which advanced, in less than forty years, from the Danube to the Atlantic, and opened a way, by the success of their arms, to the inroads of so many hostile tribes, more savage than them-The original principle of motion was concealed in the remote countries of the North; and the curious observation of the pastoral life of

The Huns and Goths, A. D. 376.

(3) Dicæarchus, the Peripatetic, composed a formal treatise, to prove this obvious truth; which is not the most honourable to the human species (Cicero, de Officiis, ii. 5.)4

the Scythians (4), or Tartars (5), will illustrate the latent cause of these destructive emigrations.

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The different characters that mark the civilized The paftoral nations of the globe, may be ascribed to the use, manners of the Stythiand the abuse, of reason; which so variously ans, of Tarhapes, and so artificially composes, the mannerstars. and opinions of an European, or a Chinese, But the operation of instinct is more sure and simple than that of reason: it is much easier to ascertain the appetitites of a quadruped, than the speculations of a philosopher; and the savage tribes of mankind, as they approach nearer to the condition of animals, preserve a stronger resemblance to themselves and to each other: The uniform stability of their manners, is the natural consequence of the imperfection of their Reduced to a fimilar lituation, their wants, their defires, their enjoyments, still continue the same: and the influence of food or climate, which, in a more improved state of fociety, is fulpended, or fubdued, by fo many moral causes, most powerfully contributes to form, and to maintain, the national character of Barbarians. In every age, the immente plains of Scythia, or Tartary, have been inhabited by vagrant

(4) The original Scythians of Herodotus (l. iv. c. 47-57. 99-101.) were confined by the Danube and the Palus Mæotis, within a square of 4000 stadia (400 Roman miles). See d'Anville, Mem. de l'Academie, tom. xxxv. p. 573-591.). Diodorus Siculus (tom. i. l. ii. p. 155. edit. Wesseling) has marked the gradual progress of the name and nation.

(5) The Tatars, or Tartars, were a primitive tribe, the rivals, and at length the subjects, of the Moguls. In the victorious armies of Zingis Khan, and his successors, the Tartars formed the vanguard; and the name, which first reached the ears of foreigners, was applied to the whole nation (Freret, in the Hist. de l'Academie, tom. xvii. p. 60.). In speaking of all, or any, of the northern shepherds of Europe, or Asia, lindifferently use the appellations of Scythians, or Tartars.

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vagrant tribes of hunters and shepherds, whose indolence refuses to cultivate the earth, and whose restless spirit disdains the confinement of a fedentary life. In every age, the Scythians. and Tartars, have been renowned for their invincible courage, and rapid conquests. thrones of Asia have been repeatedly overturned by the shepherds of the North; and their arms have spread terror and devastation over the most fertile and warlike countries of Europe (6). On this occasion, as well as on many others, the fober historian is forcibly awakened from a pleasing vision; and is compelled, with some reluctance, to confess, that the pastoral manners, which have been adorned with the fairest attributes of peace and innocence, are much better adapted to the fierce and cruel habits of a military life. To illustrate this observation, I shall now proceed to consider a nation of shepherds and of warriors, in the three important articles of, I. Their diet; II. Their habitation; and, III. Their exercises. The narratives of antiquity are justified by the experience of modern times (7); and the banks of the Borysthenes,

(6) Imperium Asiz ter quæsivere: ipsi perpetuo ab alieno Imperio, aut intacti, aut invicti, mansere. Since the time of Justin (ii. 2.) they have multiplied this account. Voltaire, in a few words (tom. x. p. 64 Hist. Generale, c. 156.), has abridged the Tartar conquests.

Oft o'er the trembling nations from afar, Has Scythia breath'd the living cloud of war.

(7) The fourth book of Herodotus affords a curious, though imperfect portrait of the Scythians. Among the moderns, who describe the uniform scene, the Khan of Khowaresm, Abulghazi Bahadur, expresse his native seelings: and his Genealogical History of the Tartars has been explously illustrated by the French and English editors. Carpin, Ascelin and Rubruquis (in the Hist. des Voyages, tom. vii.), represent the Moguls of the sourceenth century. To these guides I have added Gerbilles and the other jesuits (Description de la Chine, par du Halde, tom. iv.

henes, of the Volga, or of the Selinga, will indifferently present the same uniform spectacle of similar and native manners (8).

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Gerbillor tom. iv.

I. The corn, or even the rice, which consti-Diet, tutes the ordinary and wholesome food of a civilifed people, can be obtained only by the patient toil of the husbandman. Some of the happy favages, who dwell between the tropics, are plentifully nourished by the liberality of nature; but in the climates of the North, a nation of shepherds is reduced to their flocks and herds. The skilful practitioners of the medical art will determine (if they are able to determine) how far the temper of the human mind may be affected by the use of animal, or of vegetable, food; and whether the common affociation of carnivorous and cruel, deserves to be considered in any other light than that of an innocent, perhaps a falutary, prejudice of humanity (9). Yet if it be true, that the fentiment of compassion is imperceptibly weakened by the light and practice of domestic cruelty, we may observe, that the horrid objects which are difguifed by the arts of European refinement, are exhibited in their

who accurately surveyed the Chinese Tartary; and that honest and intelligent traveller Bell, of Antermony (two volumes in 4to. Glasgow,

1763.).
(8) The Uzbecs are the most altered from their primitive manners; I by the profession of the Mahometan religion; and, 2. by the possession of the cities and harvests of the great Bucharia.

(9) Il est certain que les grands mangeurs de viande sont en general cruels et seroces plus que les autres hommes. Cette observation est de tous les lieux et de tous les tems: la barbare Angloise est connue, &c. Emile de Rousseau, tom. i. p. 274. Whatever we may think of the general ebservation, we shall not easily allow the truth of his example. The good-natured complaints of Plutarch, and the pathetic lamentations of Ovid, seduce our reason, by exciting our sensibility.

naked and most disgusting simplicity, in the The ox, or the tent of a Tartarian shepherd. sheep, are slaughtered from the same hand from which they were accustomed to receive their daily food; and the bleeding limbs are ferved, with very little preparation, on the table of their unfeeling murderer. In the military profession, and especially in the conduct of a numerous army, the exclusive use of animal food appears to be productive of the most folid advantages. Corn is a bulky and perishable commodity; and the large magazines, which are indispensably neceffary for the subsistence of our troops, must be flowly transported by the labour of men, or horses. But the flocks and herds, which accompany the march of the Tartars, afford a fure and encreasing supply of slesh and milk: in the far greater part of the uncultivated waste, the vevegetation of the grass is quick and luxuriant; and there are few places so extremely barren, that the hardy cattle of the North cannot find fome tolerable pasture. The supply is multiplied and prolonged, by the undiftinguishing appetite, and patient abitinence, of the Tartars. They indifferently feed on the flesh of those animals that have been killed for the table, or have died of disease. Horse-slesh, which in every age and country has been profcribed by the civilifed nations of Europe and Asia, they devour with peculiar greedines; and this fingular tatte facilitates the fuccess of their military operations. The active cavalry of Scythia is always followed, in their most distant and rapid incursions, by an adequate number of spare horses, who may be occasionally used, either to redouble the speed, or to fatisfy the hunger, of the Barbarians. my are the resources of courage and poverty. When

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When the forage round a camp of Tartars is almost consumed, they slaughter the greatest part of their cattle, and preserve the flesh, either smoked, or dried in the sun. On the sudden emergency of a hafty march, they provide themselves with a sufficient quantity of little balls of cheefe, or rather of hard curd, which they occasionally dissolve in water; and this unsubflantial diet will support, for many days, the life, and even the spirits, of the patient warrior. But this extraordinary abstinence, which the Stoic would approve, and the hermit might envy, is commonly fucceeded by the most voracious indulgence of appetite. The wines of a happier climate are the most grateful present, or the most valuable commodity, that can be offered to the Tartars; and the only example of their industry seems to consist in the art of extracting from a mare's milk a fermented liquor. which possesses a very strong power of intoxica-Like the animals of prey, the favages, both of the old and new world, experience the alternate viciflitudes of famine and plenty; and their stomach is inured to sustain, without much inconvenience, the opposite extremes of hunger and of intemperance.

II. In the ages of rustic and martial simplicity, Habitaa people of soldiers and husbandmen are distigned.
persed over the sace of an extensive and cultivated country; and some time must elapse before the warlike youth of Greece or Italy could be assembled under the same standard, either to defend their own confines, or to invade the teritories of the adjacent tribes. The progress of manufactures and commerce insensibly collects a large multitude within the walls of a city; but these citizens are no longer soldiers; and the

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arts which adorn and improve the state of civil fociety, corrupt the habits of the military life. The pastoral manners of the Scythians seem to unite the different advantages of simplicity and refinement: The individuals of the same tribe are constantly assembled, but they are assembled in a camp; and the native spirit of these dauntless shephereds is animated by mutual support and emulation. The houses of the Tartars are no more than small tents, of an oval form, which afford a cold and dirty habitation, for the promiscuous youth of both sexes. The palaces of the rich consist of wooden huts, of such a fize that they may be conveniently fixed on large waggons, and drawn by a team perhaps of twenty or thirty oxen. The flocks and herds, after grazing all day in the adjacent pastures, retire, on the approach of night, within the protection of the camp. The necessity of preventing the most mischievous confusion, in such a perpetual concourse of men and animals, must gradually introduce, in the distribution, the order, and the guard, of the encampment, the rudiments of the military art. As foon as the forage of a certain diffrict is confumed, the tribe, or rather army, of shepherds, makes a regular march to some fresh pastures; and thus acquires, in the ordinary occupations of the paltoral life, the practical knowledge of one of the most important and difficult operations of war. The choice of stations is regulated by the difference of the feafons: in the fummer, the Tartars advance towards the North, and pitch their tents on the banks of a river, or, at least, in the neighbourhood of a running stream. But in the winter they return to the South, and shelter their camp, behind some convenient eminence, against the winds, which are chilled in their pallage over the bleak and icy regions of Siberia. Thele manners are admirably adapted to diffule, among the wandering tribes, the spirit of emigration and conquest. The connection between the people and their territory is of fo frail a texture, that it may be broken by the flightest accident. The camp, and not the foil, is the native counof that camp, his family, his companions, his property are always included; and in the most diffant marches, he is ftill furrounded by the objects which are dear, or valuable, or familiar The thirst of rapine, the fear, or in his eyes. the refentment of injury, the impatience of fervitude, have, in every age, been sufficient causes to urge the tribes of Scythia boldly to advance into fome unknown countries, where they might hope to find a more plentiful sublistence, or a less formidable enemy. The revolutions of the North have frequently determined the fate of the South; and in the conflict of hostile nations, the victor and the vanquished have alternately drove, and been been driven, from the confines of China to those of Germany (10). great emigrations, which have been fometimes executed with almost incredible diligence, were rendered more easy by the peculiar nature of the climate. It is well known that the cold of Tartary is much more severe than in the midit of the temperate zone might reasonably be expected: this uncommon rigour is attributed to the height of the plains, which rife, especially towards

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⁽¹⁰⁾ These Tartar emigrations have been discovered by M. de Guignes (Histoire des Huns, tom. i. ii.), a skilful and laborious interpreter of the Chinese language; who has thus laid open new and important scenes in the history of mankind.

towards the East, more than half a mile above the level of the sea; and to the quantity of salt-petre, with which the soil is deeply impregnated (11). In the winter-season, the broad and rapid rivers, that discharge their waters into the Euxine, the Caspian, or the Icy Sea, are strongly frozen; the fields are covered with a bed of snow; and the fugitive, or victorious, tribes may securely traverse, with their families, their waggons, and their cattle, the smooth and hard surface of an immense plain.

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Exercises.

III. The pastoral life, compared with the labours of agriculture and manufactures, is undoubtedly a life of idleness; and as the most honourable shepherds of the Tartar race devolve on their captives the domestic management of the cattle, their own leifure is feldom diffurbed by any fervile and affiduous cares. But this leifure, instead of being devoted to the fost enjoyments of love and harmony, is usefully spent in the violent and fanguinary exercise of the The plains of Tartary are filled with a strong and serviceable breed of horses, which are easily trained for the purposes of war and hunting. The Scythians of every age have been celebrated as bold and skilful riders: and constant practice had seated them so firmly on horseback, that they were supposed by strangers to perform the ordinary duties of civil life, to eat, to drink, and even to fleep, without difmounting

⁽¹¹⁾ A plain in the Chinese Tartary, only eighty leagues from the great wall, was found by the missionaries to be three thousand geometrical paces above the level of the sea. Montesquieu, who has used, and abused, the relations of travellers, deduces the revolutions of Asia from this important circumstance, that heat and cold, weakness and strength, touch each other without any temperate zone (Esprit des Loix, l. xvii. c.

ing from their steeds. They excel in the dexterous management of the lance; the long Tartar bow is drawn with a nervous arm; and the weighty arrow is directed to its object with unerring aim, and irrelistible force. These arrows are often pointed against the harmless animals of the defert, which increase and multiply in the absence of their most formidable enemy; the hare, the goat, the roebuck, the fallow-deer, the elk, and the antelope. The vigour and patience both of the men and horses are continually exercised by the fatigues of the chace; and the plentiful supply of game contributes to the subfiftence, and even luxury, of a Tartar camp. But the exploits of the hunters of Scythia are not confined to the destruction of timid or innoxious beafts; they boldly encounter the angry wild-boar, when he turns against his purfuers, excite the fluggish courage of the bear, and provoke the fury of the tyger, as he flumbers in the thicket. Where there is danger there may be glory: and the mode of hunting, which opens the fairest field to the exertions of valour, may justly be considered as the image, and as the school, of war. The general hunting-matches, the pride and delight of the Tartar princes, compose an instructive exercise for their numerous cavalry. A circle is drawn, of many miles in circumference, to encompass the game of an extensive district; and the troops that form the circle regularly advance towards a common centre; where the captive animals, furrounded on every fide, are abandoned to the darts of the hunters. In this march, which frequently continues many days, the cavalry are obliged to climb the hill, to fwim the rivers, and to wind through the vallies, without interrupting the pre-

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scribed order of their gradual progress. They acquire the habit of directing their eye, and their fteps, to a remote object; of preserving their intervals; of fuspending, or accelerating, their pace, according to the motions of the troops on their right and left; and of watching and repeating the fignals of their leaders. Their lead. ers study, in this practical scool, the most important lesson of the military art; the prompt and accurate judgment of ground, of distance, and of time. To employ against a human enemy the same patience and valour, the same skill and discipline, is the only alteration which is required in real war; and the amusements of the chace ferve as a prelude to the conquest of an empire (12).

Covernment.

The political fociety of the ancient Germans has the appearance of a voluntary alliance of independent warriors. The tribes of Scythia, diffinguished by the modern appellation of Hords, assume the form of a numerous and increasing family; which, in the course of successive generations, has been propagated from The meanest, and the same original stock. most ignorant of the Tartars, preserve, with conscious pride, the inestimable treasure of their genealogy; and whatever distinctions of rank may have been introduced, by the unequal distribution of pastoral wealth, they mutually respect themselves, and each other, as the descen-

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⁽¹²⁾ Petit de la Croix (Vie de Gengiscan, 1. iii. c. 7.) represents the full glory and extent of the Mogul chace. The Jesuits Gerbillon and Verbiest followed the emperor Kamhi when he hunted in Tartary (Duhalde, Description de la Chine, tom. iv. p. 81. 290, &c. folio edit.). His grandson, Kienlong, who unites the Tartar discipline with the laws and learning of China, describes (Elogue de Moukden, p. 273-285.), as a poet, the pleasures which he had often enjoyed, as a sportsman.

dants of the first founder of the tribe. The custom, which still prevails, of adopting the bravest, and most faithful of the captives, may countenance the very probable suspicion, that this extensive confanguinity is, in a great meafure, legal and fictitious. But the useful prejudice, which has obtained the fanction of time and opinion, produces the effects of truth; the haughty Barbarians yield a cheerful and voluntary obedience to the head of their blood: and their chief, or murfa, as the representative of their great father, exercises the authority of a judge, in peace, and of a leader, in war. In the original state of the pastoral world, each of the mursas (if we may continue to use a modern appellation) acted as the independent chief of a large and separate family; and the limits of their peculiar territories were gradually fixed, by fuperior force, or mutual confent. constant operation of various and permament causes contributed to unite the vagrant Hords into national communities, under the command of a supreme head. The weak were desirous of support, and the strong were ambitious of dominion; the power, which is the refult of union, oppressed and collected the divided forces of the adjacent tribes; and, as the vanquished were freely admitted to share the advantages of victory, the most valiant chiefs hastened to range themselves, and their followers, under the formidable standard of a confederate nation. The most successful of the Tartar princes asfumed the military command, to which he was entitled by the superiority, either of merit, or of power. He was raifed to the throne by the acclamations of his equals; and the title of Khan expresses, in the language of the North of Asia,

the full extent of the regal dignity. The right of hereditary fuccession was long confined to the blood of the founder of the monarchy; and at this moment all the Khans, who reign from Crimea to the wall of China, are the lineal descendants of the renowned Zingis (13). But, as it is the indispensable duty of a Tartar sovereign to lead his warlike subjects into the field. the claims of an infant are often difregarded; and some royal kinsman, distinguished by his age and valour, is entrusted with the sword and sceptre of his predecessor. Two distinct and regular taxes are levied on the tribes, to support the dignity of their national monarch, and of their peculiar chief; and each of those contributions amount to the tythe, both of their property, and of their spoil. A Tartar sovereign enjoys the tenth part of the wealth of his people; and as his own domestic riches of flocks and herds increase in a much larger proportion, he is able plentifully to maintain the ruftic splendour of his court, to reward the most deferving or the most favoured, of his followers, and to obtain, from the gentle influence of corruption, the obedience which might be fometimes refused to the stern mandates of autho-The manners of his subjects, accustomlike himself, to blood and rapine, might excuse, in their eyes, such partial acts of tyranny, as would excite the horror of a civilifed people; but the power of a despot has never been been The finec the c mod onal the and the las affer num who incli men vere tar 1 hoft estal pire forti fpre: fucc mitt of c dest

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⁽¹³⁾ See the second volume of the Genealogical History of the Tartars: and the lists of the Khans, at the end of the life of Gengis, or Zingis. Under the reign of Timur, or Tamerlane, one of his subjects, a descendant of Zingis, still bore the regal appellation of Khan; and the conqueror of Asia contented himself with the title of Emir, or Sultan. Abulghazi, part v. c. 4. D'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 878.

been acknowledged in the deferts of Scythia. The immediate jurisdiction of the Khan is confined within the limits of his own tribe; and the exercise of his royal prerogative has been moderated by the ancient institution of a national council. The Coroultai (14), or Diet, of the Tartars, was regularly held in the spring and autumn, in the midst of a plain; where the princes of the reigning family, and the murfas of the respective tribes, may conveniently assemble on horseback, with their martial and numerous trains: and the ambitious monarch, who reviewed the strength, must consult the inclination, of an armed people. The rudiments of a feudal government may be discovered in the constitution of the Scythian or Tartar nations; but the perpetual conflict of those hostile nations has fometimes terminated in the establishment of a powerful and despotic empire. The victor, enriched by the tribute, and fortified by the arms, of dependent kings, has spread his conquests over Europe or Asia: the successful shepherds of the North have submitted to the confinement of arts, of laws, and of cities; and the introduction of luxury, after destroying the freedom of the people, has undermined the foundations of the throne (15).

The memory of past events cannot long be situation preserved, in the frequent and remote emigra-and extent of tions of illiterate Barbarians. The modern Tar-Tartary.

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⁽i4) See the Diets of the ancient Huns (de Guignes, tom. ii. p. 26.), and a curious description of those of Zingis (Vie de Gengiscan, l. i. c. 6. l. iv. c. 11.). Such affemblies are frequently mentioned in the Persian history of Timur; though they served only to countenance the resolutions of their master.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Montesquieu labours to explain a difference, which has not existed, between the liberty of the Arabs, and the perpetual slavery of the Tartare (Esprit des Loix, l. xvii, c. 5. l. xviii. c. 19, &c.).

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tars are ignorant of the conquests of their anceftors (16); and our knowledge of the history of the Scythians is derived from their intercourse with the learned and civilized nations of the South, the Greeks, the Persians, and the The Greeks, who navigated the Euxine, and planted their colonies along the feacoast, made the gradual and imperfect discovery of Scythia; from the Danube, and the confines of Thrace, as far as the frozen Mæotis, the feat of eternal winter, and Mount Caucasus, which, in the language of poetry, was described as the utmost boundary of the earth. They celebrated, with fimple credulity, the virtues of the pastoral life (17): They entertained a more rational apprehension of the strength and numbers of the warlike Barbarians (18), who contemptuoufly baffled the immense armament of Darius, the fon of Hystaspes (19). The Perfian monarchs had extended their western conquests to the banks of the Danube, and the limits of European Scythia. The eastern provinces of their empire were exposed to the Scythians of Asia; the wild inhabitants of the plains beyond the Oxus and the Jaxartes, two mighty rivers, which direct their course towards the Caspian sea. The long and memorable quarrel

(16) Abulghagzi Khan, in the two first parts of his Genealogical History, relates the miserable fables and traditions of the Uzbek Tartars concerning the times which preceded the reign of Zingis.

(17) In the thirteenth book of the Illiad, Jupiter turns away his eyes from the bloody fields of Troy, to the plains of Thrace and Scythia. He would not, by changing the prospect, behold a more peaceful or innocent scene.

(18) Thucydides, I. ii. c. 97.

⁽¹⁹⁾ See the fourth book of Herodotus. When Darius advanced into the Moldavian defert, between the Danube and the Neister, the king of the Scythians sent him a mouse, a frog, a bird, and sive arrows; a tremendous allegory!

quarrel of Iran and Touran, is still the theme of history or romance: the famous, perhaps the fabulous, valour of the Persian heroes, Rustan and Asfendiar, was fignalized, in the defence of their country against the Afrasiabs of the North (20); and the invinfible spirit of the same Barbarians refisted, on the same ground, the victorious arms of Cyrus and Alexander (21). In the eyes of the Greeks and Persians, the real geography of Scythia was bounded, on the East, by the mountains of Imaus, or Caf; and their distant prospect of the extreme and inaccessible parts of Asia was clouded by ignorance, or perplexed by fiction. But those inaccessible regions are the ancient residence of a powerful and civilifed nation (22), which afcends, by a probable tradition, above forty centuries (23); and which is able to verify a feries of near two thousand years, by the perpetual testimony of VOL. IV.

(20) These wars and heroes may be found under their respective titles, in the Bibliotheque Orientale of d'Herbelot. They have been telebrated in an epic poem of fixty thousand rhymed couplets, by Ferdusi, the Homer of Persia. See the History of Nader Shah, p. 145, 165. The public must lament, that Mr. Jones has suspended the pursuit of Oriental learning.

(21) The Caspian sea, with its rivers, and adjacent tribes, are laborioully illustrated in the Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre, which compares the true geography, and the errors produced by the va-

nity or ignorance of the Greeks.

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(22) The original feat of the nation appears to have been in the North-west of China, in the provinces of Chensi and Chansi. Under the two first dynasties, the principal town was still a moveable camp; the villages were thinly scattered; more land was employed in pasture than in tillage; the exercise of hunting was ordained to clear the country from wild beasts; Petcheli (where Pekin stands) was a desert; and the southern provinces were peopled with Indian savages. The dynasty of the Han (before Christ 206.) gave the empire its actual form and extent.

(23) The æra of the Chinese monarchy has been variously fixed, from 1952 to 2132 years before Christ; and the year 2637 has been chosen for the lawful epoch, by the authority of the present emperor. The dif-

accurate and cotemporary historians (24). The annals of (25) China, illustrate the state and revolutions of the paftoral tribes, which may still be diftinguished by the vague appellation of Scythians, or Tartars; the vaffals, the enemies, and fometimes the conquerors, of a great empire: whose policy has uniformly opposed the blind and impetuous valour of the Barbarians of the North. From the mouth of the Danube to the fea of Japan, the whole longitude of Scythia is about one hundred and ten degrees, which, in that parallel, are equal to more than five thou-The latitude of these extensive defand miles. ferts cannot be fo eafily, or fo accurately, meafured; but, from the fortieth degree, which touches

ference arises from the uncertain duration of the two first dynasties; and the vacant space that lies beyond them, as far as the real, or fabulous, times of Fohi, or Hoangti. Sematsien dates his authentic chronology from the year 841: the thirty-fix eclipses of Consucius (thirty-one of which have been verified) were observed between the years 722 and 480 before Christ. The bistorical period of China does not ascend above the Greek Olympiads.

(24) After several ages of anarchy and despotism, the dynasty of the Han (before Christ 206.) was the revival of learning. The fragments of ancient literature were restored; the characters were improved and fixed; and the future preservation of books was secured, by the useful inventions of ink, paper, and the art of printing. Ninety-seven years before Christ, Sematsien published the first history of China. His labours were illustrated, and continued, by a series of one hundred and eighty historians. The substance of their works is still extant; and the most considerable of them are now deposited in the king of France's library.

(25) China has been illustrated by the labours of the French; of the missionaries at Pekin, and Messes. Freret, and de Guignes, at Paris. The substance of the three preceding notes is extracted from the Chou-king, with the presace and notes of M. de Guignes, Paris, 1770; The Tongien-Kang-mou, translated by the P. de Mailla, under the name of Hist. Generale de la Chine, tom. i. p. xlix—cc.; the Memoires sur la Chine. Paris, 1776, &c. tom. i. p. 1—323. tom. ii. p. 5—364.; the Histoire des Huns, tom. i. p. 1—131. tom. v. p. 345—362.; and the Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. x. p. 377—402. tom. xv. p. 495—564. tom. xviii. p. 178—295. tom. xxxvi. p. 164—238.

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touches the wall of China, we may fecurely advance above a thousand miles to the northward. till our progress is stopped by the excessive cold of Siberia. In that dreary climate, instead of the animated picture of a Tartar camp, the smoke which issues from the earth, or rather from the fnow, betrays the fubterraneous dwellings of the Tongouses, and the Samoiedes: the want of horses and oxen is imperfectly supplied by the use of rein-deer, and of large dogs; and the conquerors of the earth infenfibly degenerate into a race of deformed and diminutive favages,

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moire 495 who tremble at the found of arms (26).

The Huns, who under the reign of Valensoriginal feat threatened the empire of Rome, had been for-of the Hunsmidable, in a much earlier period to the empire of China (27). Their ancient, perhaps their original, feat, was an extensive, though dry and barren, tract of country, immediately on the north fide of the great wall. place is at present occupied by the forty-nine Hords or Banners of the Mongous, a pastoral nation, which confifts of about two hundred thousand families (28). But the valour of the Huns had extended the narrow limits of their dominions; and their rustic chiefs, who assumed the appellation of Tanjou, gradually became Their conthe conquerors, and the fovereigns, of a for-quests in midable empire. Towards the East, their vic-Scythia. torious arms were stopped only by the ocean;

(26) See the Histoire Generale des Voyages, tom. xviii. and the General logical History, vol. ii. p. 620-664.

(28) See in Duhalde (tom. iv. p. 18-65.) a circumstantial description, with a correct map, of the country of the Mongous.

⁽²⁷⁾ M. de Guignes (tom. ii. p. 1-124.) has given the original hiftory of the ancient Hiong-nou, or Huns. The Chinese geography of their country (tom. i part. ii. p. lv-lxiii.), seems to comprise a part of

and the tribes, which are thinly scattered between the Amoor and the extreme peninfula of Corea, adhered, with reluctance, to the standard of the Huns. On the West, near the head of the Irtish, and in the vallies of Imaus, they found a more ample space, and more numerous enemies. One of the lieutenants of the Tanjou fubdued, in a fingle expedition, twenty-fix nations; the Igours (29), diffinguished above the Tartar race by the use of letters, were in the number of his vassals; and, by the strange connection of human events, the flight of one of those vagrant tribes recalled the victorious Parthians from the invasion of Syria (30). On the fide of the North, the ocean was assigned as the limit of the power of the Huns. Without enemies to refift their propress, or witnesses to contradict their vanity, they might fecurely atchieve a real, or imaginary, conquest of the The Northern Sea frozen regions of Siberia. was fixed as the remote boundary of their empire. But the name of that sea, on whose shores the patriot Sovou embraced the life of a shepherd and an exile (31), may be transferred, with much more probability, to the Baikal, a capacious bason, above three hundred miles in length, which disdains the modest appellation of a lake

(29) The Igours, or Vigours, were divided into three branches; hunters, shepherds, and husbandmen; and the last class was despited by the two former. See Abulghazi, p. ii. c. 7.

a lak with of th The migh valou the e empi the C in le tiers (33))a cor has n warlil quent fand rity ' their ing t the in feldor the d tains. the fa

> (32) S Travels, Voyages, that the call it a if the abfur vellers.

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army.

⁽³⁰⁾ Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. xxv. p. 17-33. The comprehensive view of M. de Guignes has compared these distant events.

⁽³¹⁾ The fame of Sovou, or So-ou, his merit, and his fingular adventures, are still celebrated in China. See the Eloge de Moukden, p. 20- and notes, p. 241—247.; and Memoires sur la Ghine, tom. iii. p. 317—360.

^{(33) 7} (tom. ii. (34) S

a lake (32), and which actually communicates with the feas of the North, by the long course of the Angara, the Tonguska, and the Jenissea. The submission of so many distant nations might flatter the pride of the Tanjou; but the valour of the Huns could be rewarded only by the enjoyment of the wealth and luxury of the empire of the South. In the third century before the Christian æra, a wall of fifteen hundred miles in length was constructed, to defend the frontiers of China against the inroads of the Huns (33)); but this flupendous work, which holds a conspicuous place in the map of the world, has never contributed to the safety of an unwarlike people. The cavalry of the Tanjou frequently confifted of two or three hundred thoufand men, formidable by the matchless dextenty with which they managed their bows and their horses; by their hardy patience in supporting the inclemency of the weather; and by the incredible speed of their march, which was seldom checked by torrents, or precipices, by the deepest rivers, or by the most lofty moun-They spread themselves at once over Their wars the face of the country; and their rapid impe-with the tuosity surprised, astonished, and disconcerted ant. Christ. the grave and elaborate tactics of a Chinese 201. army. The emperor Kaoti (34), a foldier of tortune.

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⁽³²⁾ See Isbrand Ives, in Harrison's collection, vol. ii. p. 931; Bell's Travels, vol. i. p. 247—254.; and Gmelin, in the Hist. Generale des Voyages, tom. xviii. p. 283—329. They all remark the vulgar opinion, that the boly sea grows angry and tempestuous, if any one presumes to call it a lake. This grammatical nicety often excites a dispute, between the absurd superstition of the mariners, and the absurd obstinacy of travellers.

⁽³³⁾ The construction of the wall of China is mentioned by Duhalde (10m. ii. p. 45.) and de Guignes tom. ii. p. 59.).

⁽³⁴⁾ See the life of Lieoupang, or Kaoti, in the Hist. de la Chine,

fortune, whose personal merit had raised him to the throne, marched against the Huns with those veteran troops which had been trained in the civil wars of China. But he was foon furrounded by the Barbarians; and, after a fiege of seven days, the monarch, hopeless of relief, was reduced to purchase his deliverance by an The successors of ignominious capitulation. Kaoti, whose lives were dedicated to the arts of peace, or the luxury of the palace, fubmitted to a more permanent disgrace. They too hastily confessed the insufficiency of arms and They were too eafily convinced, fortifications. that while the blazing fignals announced on every fide the approach of the Huns, the Chinese troops, who slept with the helmet on their head, and the cuirass on their back, were destroyed by the incessant labour of inessectual marches (35). A regular payment of money, and filk, was flipulated as the condition of a temporary and precarious peace; and the wretched expedient of difguifing a real tribute, under the names of a gift or a subsidy, was practised by the emperors of China, as well as by those of Rome. But there still remained a more disgraceful article of tribute, which violated the facred feelings of humanity and na-The hardships of the savage life, which destroy def

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published at Paris 1777, &c. tom. p. 442—522. This voluminous work is the translation (by the P. de Mailla) of the Tong-Kien-Kang-Mou, the celebrated abridgement of the great History of Semakouang (A. D. 1084) and his continuators.

(35) See a free and ample memorial, presented by a Mandarin to the emperor Venti (before Christ 180—157), in Duhalde (tom. ii. p. 412—42.); from a collection of State papers, marked with the red pencil by Kamhi himself (p. 384—612.). Another memorial from the minister at war (Kang-Mou, tom. ii. p. 555.), supplies some curious circumstances of the manners of the Huns.

destroy in their infancy the children who are born with a lets healthy and robust constitution, introduce a remarkable disproportion between the numbers of the two fexes. Tartars are an ugly and even deformed race; and, while they confider their own women as the instruments of domestic labour, their defires, or rather their appetites, are directed to the enjoyment of more elegant beauty. A felect band of the fairest maidens of China was annually devoted to the rude embraces of the Huns (36); and the alliance of the haughty Tanjous was fecured by their marriage with the genuine, or adopted, daughters of the Imperial family, which vainly attempted to escape the facrilegious pollution. The fituation of these unhappy victims is described in the verses of a Chinese princess, who laments that she had been condemned by her parents to a distant exile, under a Barbarian husband; who complains that four milk was her only drink, raw flesh her only food, a tent her only palace: and who expresses, in a strain of pathetic simplicity, the natural wish, that she were transformed into a bird, to fly back to her dear country; the object of her tender and perpetual regret (37).

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The conquest of China has been twice at-Decline and chieved by the pastoral tribes of the North: the fall of the forces of the Huns were not inferior to those of the Moguls, or of the Mantcheoux; and their ambition might entertain the most san-

the

guine hopes of success. But their pride was humbled, and their progress was checked, by

(37) De Guignes, Hitt. des Huns, tom. ii. p. 62.

⁽³⁶⁾ A supply of women is mentioned as a customary article of treaty and tribute (Hitt. de la Conquête de la Chine, par les Tartares Mant-cheoux, tom. i. p. 186, 187. with the note of the editor).

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the arms and policy of Vouti (38), the fifth emperor of the powerful dynasty of the of the Ant. Christ. Han. In his long reign of fifty-four years, the

Barbarians of the fouthern provinces submitted to the laws and manners of China; and the ancient limits of the monarchy were enlarged, from the great river of Kiang, to the port of Canton. Instead of confining himself to the timid operations of a defensive war, his lieutenants penetrated many hundred miles into the country of the Huns. In those boundless deserts, where it is impossible to form magazines, and difficult to transport a sufficient supply of provisions, the armies of Vouti were repeatedly exposed to intolerable hardships: and, of one hundred and forty thousand soldiers, who marched against the Barbarians, thirty thousand only returned in safety to the feet of their master. losses, however, were compensated by splendid and decifive fuccefs. The Chinese generals improved the superiority which they derived from the temper of their arms, their chariots of war, and the service of their Tartar auxiliaries. The camp of Tanjou was surprised in the midst of fleep and intemperance: and, though the monarch of the Huns bravely cut his way through the ranks of the enemy, he left above fifteen thousand of his subjects on the field of battle. Yet this fignal victory, which was preceded and followed by many bloody engagements, contributed much less to the destruction of the power of the Huns, than the effectual policy which was employed to detach the tri-

Ant. Christ. butary nations from their obedience. dated by the arms, or allured by the promises, of Vouti and his successors, the most conside-

⁽³⁸⁾ See the reign of the emperor Vouti, in the Kang-Mou, tom. iii. p. 1-98. His various and inconsistent character seems to be impartially

rable tribes, both of the East and of the West, disclaimed the authority of the Tanjou. While fome acknowledged themselves the allies or vallals of the empire, they all became the implacable enemies of the Huns: and the numbers of that haughty people, as foon as they were reduced to their native strength, might, perhaps, have been contained within the walls of one of the great and populous cities of Chi-The defertion of his subjects, and the perplexity of a civil war, at length com-Ant, Christ pelled the Tanjou himself to renounce the dig-51. nity of an independent fovereign, and the freedom of a warlike and high-spirited nation. He was received at Sigan, the capital of the monarchy, by the troops, the Mandarins, and the emperor himself, with all the honours that could adorn and difguise the triumph of Chinese vanity (40). A magnificent palace was prepared for his reception; his place was affigned above all the princes of the royal family; and the patience of the Barbarian king was exhaulted by the ceremonies of a banquet, which confifted of eight courses of meat, and of nine solemn pieces of music. But he performed, on his knees, the duty of a respectful homage to the emperor of China; pronounced, in his own name, and in the name of his fuccessors, a perpetual oath of fidelity; and gratefully accepted a feal, which was bestowed as the emblemn of

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⁽³⁹⁾ This expression is used in the memorial to the emperor Venti (Duhalde, tom. p. 417.). Without adopting the exaggerations of Marco-Polo and Isaac Vossius, we may rationally allow for Pekin, two millions of inhabitants. The cities of the South, which contain the manufactures of China, are still more populous.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ See the Kang-Mou, tom. iii. p. 150., and the subsequent events under the proper years. This memorable festival is celebrated in the Eloge de Moukden, and explained in a note by the P. Gaubil, p. 89.

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After this humiliating his real dependance. fubmission, the Tanjous sometimes departed from their allegiance, and seized the favourable moments of war and rapine; but the monarchy of the Huns gradually declined, till it was broken, by civil diffention, into two hostile and separate kingdoms. One of the princes of the nation was urged, by fear and ambition, to retire towards the South with eight hords, which composed between forty and fifty thousand fa-He obtained, with the title of Tanmilies. jou, a convenient territory on the verge of the Chinese provinces; and his constant attachment to the service of the empire, was secured by weakness, and the desire of revenge. From the time of this fatal schism, the Huns of the North continued to languish about fifty years; till they were oppressed on every side by their foreign and domestic enemies. The proud inscription (41) of a column, erected on a lofty mountain, announced to posterity, that a Chinese army had marched feven hundred miles into the heart of their country. The Sienpi (42), a tribe of Oriental Tartars, retaliated the injuries which they had formerly sustained; and the power of the Tanjous, after a reign of thirteen hundred years, was utterly destroyed before the end of the first century of the Christian æra (43).

A. D. 93.

(41) This infcription was composed on the spot by Pankou, President of the Tribunal of History (Kang-Mou, tom. iii. p. 392.). Similar monuments have been discovered in many parts of Tartary (Histoire des Huns, tom. ii. p. 122.).

(42) M. de Guignes (tom. i. p. 189.) has inserted a short account of

the Sienpi.

⁽⁴³⁾ The zera of the Huns is placed, by the Chinese, 1210 years before Christ. But the series of their kings does not commence till the year 230. (Hist. des Huns, tom. ii. p. 21. 123.)

The fate of the vanquished Huns was diver-Their emifified by the various influence of character and grations, fituation (44). Above one hundred thousand A. D. 100, persons, the poorest, indeed, and the most pufillanimous, of the people, were contented to remain in their native country, to renounce their peculiar name and origin, and to mingle with the victorious nation of the Sienpi. Fifty-eight hords, about two hundred thousand men, ambitious of a more honourable servitude, retired towards the South; implored the protection of the emperors of China; and were permitted to inhabit, and to guard, the extreme frontiers of the province of Chansi and the territory of Ortous. But the most warlike and powerful tribes of the Huns maintained, in their adverse fortune, the undaunted spirit of their ancestors. The western world was open to their valour; and they resolved, under the conduct of their hereditary chieftains, to discover and subdue some remote country, which was still inaccessible to the arms of the Sienpi, and to the laws of China (45). The course of their emigration soon carried them beyond the mountains of Imaus, and the limits of the Chinese geography; but we are able to distinguish the two great divisions of these formidable exiles, which directed their march towards the Oxus, and towards the Volga. The white The first of these colonies established their do-Hunsof Sogminion in the fruitful and extensive plains of Sogdiana, on the Eastern fide of the Caspian; where they preserved the name of Huns, with

⁽⁴⁴⁾ The various accidents of the downfal and flight of the Huns, are related in the Kang Mou, tom. iii. p. 88. 91. 95. 139, &c. The small numbers of each hord may be ascribed to their losses and divisions.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ M. de Guignes has skilfully traced the footsteps of the Huns through the vast deserts of Tartary (tom. ii. p. 123. 277, &c. 325, &c.).

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the epithet of Euthalites, or Nepthalites. Their manners were softened, and even their features were infenfibly improved, by the mildness of the climate, and their long residence in a slourishing province (46), which might still retain a faint impression of the arts of Greece (47). white Huns, a name which they derived from the change of their complexions, foon abandoned the pastoral life of Scythia. Gorgo, which, under the appellation of Carizme, has fince enjoyed a temporary splendour, was the residence of the king, who exercised a legal authority over an obedient people. Their luxury was maintained by the labour of the Sogdians; and the only veftige of their ancient barbarism, was the custom which obliged all the companions, perhaps to the number of twenty, who had shared the liberality of a wealthy lord, to be buried alive in the same grave (48). The vicinity of the Huns to the provinces of Persia, involved them in frequent and bloody contests with the power of that monarchy. But they respected, in peace, the faith of treaties; in war, the dictates of humanity; and their memorable victory

(46) Mohammed, Sultan of Carizme, reigned in Sogdiana, when it was invaded (A. D. 1218.) by Zingis and his moguls. The Oriental historians (see d'Herbe'ot, Petit, de la Croix, &c.) celebrate the populous cities which he ruined, and the fruitful country which he desolated. In the next century, the same provinces of Chorasmia and Mawaralnahr were described by Abulseda (Hudson, Geograph Minor, tom. iii.). Their actual misery may be seen in the Genealogical History of the Tartars, p. 423—469.

(47) Justin (xli. 6.) has left a short abridgement of the Greek kings of Bactriana. To their industry I should ascribe the new and extraordinary trade, which transported the merchandizes of India into Europe, by the Oxus, the Caspian, the Cyrus, the Phasis, and the Euxine. The other ways, both of the land and sea, were possessed by the Seleucides and the Ptolemies. (See l'Espirit de Loix, 1. xxi.)

(48) Procopius de Bell. Persico, l. i. c. 3. p. 9.

over Peroses, or Firuz, displayed the moderation, as well as the valour, of the Barbarians. The second division of their countrymen, the The Huns Huns, who gradually advanced towards the of the Volga. North-west, were exercised by the hardships of a colder climate, and a more laborious march. Necessity compelled them to exchange the filks of China, for the furs of Siberia; the imperfect rudiments of civilifed life were obliterated; and the native fierceness of the Huns was exasperated by their intercourse with the savage tribes, who were compared, with some propriety, to the wild beafts of the defert. Their independent spirit soon rejected the hereditary succession of the Tanjous; and while each hord was governed by its peculiar Murfa, their tumultuary council directed the public measures of the whole nation. As late as the thirteenth century, their transient residence on the Eastern banks of the Volga, was attested by the name of Great Hungary (49). In the winter, they descended with their flocks and herds towards the mouth of that mighty river; and their fummer excursions reached as high as the latitude of Saratoff, or perhaps the conflux of the Kama. Such at least were the recent limits of the black Calmucks (50). who remained about a century under the protection of Russia; and who have since returned to their native feats on the frontiers of the Chinese empire. The march, and the return, of those wandering

⁽⁴⁹⁾ In the thirteenth century, the monk Rubruquis (who traverfed the immense plain of Kipzak, in his journey to the court of the Great Khan) observed the remarkable name of Hungary, with the traces of a common language and origin (Hist. des Voyages, tom. vii. p. 269).

⁽⁵⁰⁾ Bell (vol. i. p. 29-34.), and the editors of the Genealogical History (p. 539), have described the Calmucks of the Volga in the beginning of the present century.

wandering Tartars, whose united camp consists of fifty thousand tents or families, illustrate the distant emigrations of the ancient Huns (51).

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Their conquest of the Alani.

It is impossible to fill the dark interval of time. which elapsed, after the Huns of the Volga were lost in the eyes of the Chinese; and before they shewed themselves to those of the Romans. There is some reason, however, to apprehend, that the same force which had driven them from their native feats, still continued to impel their march towards the frontiers of Europe. power of the Sienpi, their implacable enemies, which extended above three thousand miles from East to West (52), must have gradually oppresfed them by the weight and terror of a formidable neighbourhood: and the flight of the tribes of Scythia would inevitably tend to increase the strength, or to contract the territories, of the huns. The harsh and obscure appellations of those tribes would offend the ear, without informing the understanding, of the reader; but I cannot suppress the very natural suspicion, that the Huns of the North derived a confiderable reinforcement from the ruin of the dynasty of the South, which, in the course of the third cen-

(51) This great transmigration of 300,000 Calmucks, or Torgouts, happened in the year 1771. The original narrative of Kien-long, the reigning emperor of China, which was intended for the inscription of a column, has been translated by the missionaries of Pekin (Memoire sur la Chine, tom. i. p. 401—418). The emperor affects the smooth and specious language of the Son of Heaven, and the Father of his People.

⁽⁵²⁾ The Kang-Mou (tom. iii. p. 447.) ascribes to their conquests a space of 14,000 lis. According to the present standard, 200 lis (or more accurately 193) are equal to one degree of latitude; and one English mile consequently exceeds three miles of China. But there are strong reasons to believe that the ancient li scarcely equalled one-half of the modern. See the elaborate researches of M. d'Anville, a geographer, who is not a stranger in any age, or climate, of the globe (Memoires d: l'Acad. tom. ii. p. 125—502. Mesures Itineraires, p. 154—167).

tury, submitted to the dominion of China; that the bravest warriors marched away in search of their free and adventurous countrymen; and that, as they had been divided by prosperity, they were eafily re-united by the common hardships of their adverse fortune (53). The Huns, with their flocks and herds, their wives and children, their dependents and allies, were transported to the West of the Volga: and they boldly advanced to invade the country of the Alani, a paftoral people who occupied, or wasted, an extensive tract of the deserts of Scythia. plains between the Volga and the Tanais were covered with the tents of the Alani, but their name and manners were diffused over the wide extent of their conquests; and the painted tribes of the Agathyrsi and Geloni were confounded among their vaffals. Towards the North, they penetrated into the frozen regions of Siberia. among the favages who were accustomed, in their rage or hunger, to the tafte of human flesh: and their Southern inroads were pushed as far as the confines of Persia and India. The mixture of Sarmatic and German blood had contributed to improve the features of the Alani. to whiten their fwarthy complexions, and to tinge their hair with a yellowish cast, which is seldom They were less defound in the Tartar race. formed in their persons, less brutish in their manners, than the Huns; but they did not yield to those formidable Barbarians in their martial and independent spirit; in the love of freedom, which rejected even the use of domestic slaves; and

⁽⁵³⁾ See the Histoire des Huns, tom. ii. p. 125—144. The subsequent history (p. 145—277) of three or four Hunnic dynasties evidently proves, that their martial spirit was not impaired by a long residence in China.

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and in the love of arms, which confidered war and rapine as the pleasure and the glory of mankind. A naked scymetar, fixed in the ground, was the only object of their religious worship; the scalps of their enemies formed the costly trappings of their horses; and they viewed, with pity and contempt, the pufillanimous warriors, who patiently expected the infirmities of age, and the tortures of lingering disease (54). On the banks of the Tanais. the military power of the Huns and the Alani encountered each other with equal valour, but with unequal fuccess. The Huns prevailed in the bloody contest: the king of the Alani was flain; and the remains of the vanquished nation were dispersed by the ordinary alternative of flight or submission (55). A colony of exiles found a fecure refuge in the mountains of Caucasus, between the Euxine and the Caspian; where they still preserve their name and their independence. Another colony advanced, with more intrepid courage, towards the shores of the Baltic; affociated themselves with the Northern tribes of Germany; and shared the spoil of the Roman provinces of Gaul and Spain. But the greatest part of the nation of the Alani embraced the offers of an honourable and advantageous union: and the Huns, who esteemed the valour

⁽⁵⁴⁾ Utque hominibus quietis placidis otium est voluptabile, ita illos pericula juvant et bella. Judicatur ibi beatus qui in prœlio profuderit animam: senescentes etiam et fortuitis mortibus mundo digresso, ut degeneres et ignavos conviciis atrocibus insectantur. We must think highly of the conquerors of such men.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ On the subject of the Alani, see Ammianus (xxxi. 2.), Jornandes (de Rebus Gelicis, c. 24.), M. de Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. ii. p. 279.), and the Genealogical History of the Tartars (tom. ii. p. 617.).

valour of their less fortunate enemies, proceeded, with an increase of numbers and confidence, to invade the limits of the Gothic empire.

The great Hermanric, whose dominions ex-Their vice tended from the Baltic to the Euxine, enjoyed, tories over the Goths, in the full maturity of age and reputation, the A. D. 375. fruit of his victories, when he was alarmed by the formidable approach of an hoft of unknown enemies (56), on whom his barbarous subjects might, without injustice, bestow the epithet of Barbarians. The numbers, the strength, the rapid motions, and the implacable cruelty of the Huns, were felt, and dreaded, and magnified, by the aftonished Goths; who beheld their fields and villages confumed with flames, and deluged with indiscriminate slaughter. To these real terrors they added, the surprise and abhorrence which were excited by the shrill voice, the uncouth gestures, and the strange deformity of the Huns. These savages of Scythia were compared (and the picture had some resemblance) to the animals who walk very aukwarly on two legs; and to the mis-shapen figures, the Termini, which were often placed on the bridges of anti-They were diffinguished from the rest of the human species by their broad shoulders, flat noses, and small black eyes, deeply buried in the head; and as they were almost destitute of beards, they never enjoyed either the manly graces of youth, or the venerable aspect of Vol. IV age

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⁽⁵⁶⁾ As we are possessed of the authentic history of the Huns, it would be impertinent to repeat, or to refute, the fables which misrepresent their origin and progress, their passage of the mud or water of the Mæotis, in pursuit of an ox or stag, les Indes qu'ils avoient decouvertes, &c. (Zosimus, 1. iv. p. 224. Sozomen, 1. vi. c. 37. Procopius Hist. Miscell. c. 5. Jornandes, c. 24. Grandeur et Decadence, &c. des Romains, c. 17.)

A fabulous origin was affigned, worage (57). thy of their form and manners; that the witches of Scythia, who, for their foul and deadly practices, had been driven from fociety, had copulated in the defert with infernal spirits; and that the Huns were the offspring of this execrable conjunction (58). The tale, fo full of horror and absurdity, was greedily embraced by the credulous hatred of the Goths; but, while it gratified their hatred, it encreased their fear: fince the posterity of dæmons and witches might be supposed to inherit some share of the præternatural powers, as well as of the malignant temper, of their parents. Against these enemies, Hermanric prepared to exert the united forces of the Gothic state; but he soon discovered that his vassal tribes, provoked by oppression, were much more inclined to fecond, than to repel, the invasion of the Huns. One of the chiefs of the Roxolani (59) had formerly deferted the standard of Hermanric, and the cruel tyrant had condemned the innocent wife of the traitor to be The brothers of torn afunder by wild horses. that unfortunate woman feized the favourable moment

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(58) This execrable origin, which Jornandes (c. 24.) describes with the rancour of a Goth, might be originally derived from a more pleasing

fable of the Greeks. (Herodot. l. iv. c. 9, &c.)

⁽⁵⁷⁾ Prodigiosæ formæ, et pandi; ut bipedes existimes bestias; vel quales in commarginandis pontibus, essigiati stipites dolantur incompti. Ammian. xxxi. 1. Jornandes (c. 24.) draws a strong-caricature of a Calmuck face. Species pavenda nigredine . . . quædam desormis offa, non facies; habensque magis puncta quam lumina. See Buston, Hist. Naturelle, tom. iii. p. 380.

⁽⁵⁹⁾ The Roxolani may be the fathers of the Pως, the Russians (d'Anville, Empire de Russie, p. 1—10.), whose residence (A. D. 862.) about Novogrod Veliki cannot be very remote from that which the Geographer of Ravenna (i. 12. iv. 4. 46. v. 28. 30.) assigns to the Roxolani (A. D. 886.).

The aged king of the moment of revenge. Goths languished some time after the dangerous wound which he received from their daggers: but the conduct of the war was retarded by his infirmities; and the public councils of the nation were distracted by a spirit of jealousy and discord. His death, which has been imputed to his own despair, left the reins of government in the hands of Withimer, who, with the doubtful aid of fome Scythian mercenaries, maintained the unequal contest against the arms of the Huns and the Alani, till he was defeated and flain, in a decifive battle. The Offrogoths submitted to their fate: and the royal race of the Amali will hereafter be found among the subjects of the haughty Attila. But the person of Witheric, the infant king, was faved by the diligence of Alatheus and Saphrax; two warriors of approved valour and fidelity; who, by cautious marches, conducted the independent remains of the nation of the Ostrogoths towards the Danastus, or Niester; a considerable river, which now separates the Turkish dominions from the empire of Russia. On the banks of the Niester, the prudent Athanaric, more attentive to his own than to the general safety, had fixed the camp of the Visigoths; with the firm resolution of opposing the victorious Barbarians, whom he thought it less The ordinary speed of advisable to provoke. the Huns was checked by the weight of baggage, and the incumbrance of captives; but their military skill deceived, and almost destroyed, the army of Athanaric. While the judge of the Visigoths defended the banks of the Niester, he was encompassed and attacked by a numerous detachment of cavalry, who, by the light of the moon, had passed the river in a fordable place; Z 2

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and, it was not without the utmost efforts of courage and conduct, that he was able to effect his retreat towards the hilly country. daunted general had already formed a new and judicious plan of defensive war; and the strong lines, which he was preparing to construct between the mountains, the Pruth and the Danube, would have fecured the extensive and fertile territory that bears the modern name of Walachia, from the destructive inroads of the Huns (60). But the hopes and measures of the judge of the Visigoths were soon disappointed, by the trembling impatience of his difmayed countrymen; who were persuaded by their fears, that the interpolition of the Danube was the only barrier that could fave them from the rapid pursuit, and invincible valour, of the Barbarians of Scythia. Under the command of Fritigern and Alavivus (61), the body of the nation haftily advanced to the banks of the great river, and implored the protection of the Roman emperor of the East. Athanaric himself, still anxious to avoid the guilt of perjury, retired, with a band of faithful followers, into the mountainous country of Caucaland; which appears to have been guarded, and almost concealed, by the impenetrable forests of Transylvania (62). After Valens had terminated the Gothic war

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The Goths
implore the with fome appearance of glory and fuccess, he protection of Valens,
A. D. 376.

(60) The text of Ammianus seems to be impersed, or corrupt; but the nature of the ground explains, and almost defines, the Gothic

rampart. Memoires de l'Academie, &c. tom. xxviii. p. 444—462.

(61) M. de Buat (Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. vi. p. 407.)
has conceived a strange idea, that Alavivus was the same person as Ulphilas, the Gothic bishop: and that Ulphilas, the grandson of a Cappadocian captive, became a temporal prince of the Goths.

(62) Ammianus (xxxi. 3.) and Jornandes (de Rebus Geticis, c. 24.)

describe the subversion of the Gothic empire by the Huns.

made a progress through his dominions of Asia. and at length fixed his residence in the capital The five years (63) which he spent of Syria. at Antioch were employed to watch, from a fecure distance, the hostile designs of the Persian monarch; to check the depradations of the Saracens and Haurians (64); to enforce by arguments, more prevalent than those of reason and eloquence, the belief of the Arian theology; and to fatisfy his anxious fuspicions by the promiscuous execution of the innocent and the guilty. But the attention of the emperor was most feriously engaged, by the important intelligence which he received from the civil and military officers who were entrusted with the defence of the Danube. He was informed, that the North was agitated by a furious tempest; that the irruption of the Huns, an unknown and monstrous race of savages, had subverted the power of the Goths; and that the suppliant multitudes of that warlike nation, whose pride was now humbled in the duft, covered a space of many miles along the banks of the river. With outstretched arms, and pathetic lamentations, they loudly deplored their past misfortunes and their present danger; acknowledged, that their only hope of fafety was in the clemency of the Roman government; and most folemnly protested, that if the gracious liberality of the emperor would permit them to cultivate the waste lands of Thrace, they should ever

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⁽⁶³⁾ The chronology of Ammianus is obscure and impersect. Tille-mont has laboured to clear and settle the annals of Valens.

⁽⁶⁴⁾ Zosimus, l. iv. p. 223. Sozomen, l. vi. c. 38. The Isaurians, each winter, infested the roads of Asia Minor, as far as the neighbourhood of Constantinople. Basil, Epist. ccl. apud Tillement, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 106.

ever hold themselves bound, by the strongest

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obligations of duty and gratitude, to obey the laws, and to guard the limits, of the republic. These assurances were confirmed by the ambaffadors of the Goths, who impatiently expected, from the mouth of Valens, an answer that must finally determine the fate of their unhappy countrymen. The emperor of the East was no longer guided by the wisdom and authority of his elder brother, whose death hap-A. D. 375 pened towards the end of the preceding year: and as the diffressful situation of the Goths required an instant and peremptory decision, he was deprived of the favourite resource of feeble and timid minds; who confider the use of dilatory and ambiguous measures, as the most admirable efforts of confummate prudence. As long as the same passions and interests subsist among mankind, the questions of war and peace, of justice and policy, which were debated in the councils of antiquity, will frequently present themselves as the subject of modern deliberation. But the most experienced statesman of Europe, has never been summoned to consider the propriety, or the danger, of admitting, or rejecting, an innumerable multitude of Barbarians, who are driven by despair and hunger to folicit a fettlement on the territories of a civilized nation. When that important proposition, so essentially connected with the public fafety, was referred to the ministers of Valens, they were perplexed and divided; but they foon acquiesced in the flattering sentiment which feemed the most favourable to the pride, the indolence, and the avarice of their fovereign. The flaves, who were decorated with the titles of præfects and generals, dif-

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sembled or difregarded the terrors of this national emigration; fo extremely different from the partial and accidental colonies, which had been received on the extreme limits of the empire. But they applauded the liberality of fortune, which had conducted, from the most diftant countries of the globe, a numerous and invincible army of strangers, to defend the throne of Valens; who might now add to the royal treasures, the immente sums of gold supplied by the provincials to compensate their annual proportion of recruits. The prayers of the Goths were granted, and their fervice was accepted by the Imperial court: and orders were immediately dispatched to the civil and military governors of the Thracian diocese, to make the necessary preparations for the passage and subsistence of a great people, till a proper and fufficient territory could be allotted for their future residence. The liberality of the emperor was accompanied, however, with two harsh and rigorous conditions, which prudence might justify on the side of the Romans; but which diffress alone could extort from the indignant Before they passed the Danube, they were required to deliver their arms: and it was infifted, that their children should be taken from them, and dispersed through the provinces of Asia; where they might be civilized by the arts of education, and ferve as hoftages to secure the fidelity of their parents.

During this suspence of a doubtful and dis-They are tant negociation, the impatient Goths made over the Da-some rash attempts to pass the Danube, without nube into the permission of the government, whose pro-empire. tection they had implored. Their motions were strictly observed by the vigilance of the troops which

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which were stationed along the river; and their foremost detachments were defeated with confiderable flaughter: yet fuch were the timid councils of the reign of Valens, that the brave officers who had ferved their country in the execution of their duty, were punished by the loss of their employments, and narrowly escaped the loss of their heads. The Imperial mandate was at length received for transporting over the Danube the whole body of the Gothic nation (65); but the execution of this order was a task of labour and difficulty. The stream of the Danube, which in those parts is above a mile broad (66), had been swelled by incesfant rains; and, in this tumultuous passage, many were swept away and drowned, by the rapid violence of the current. A large fleet of vessels, of boats, and of canoes, was provided: many days and nights they passed and repassed with indefatigable toil; and the most strenuous diligence was exerted by the officers of Valens, that not a fingle Barbarian, of those who were referved to subvert the foundations of Rome, should be left on the opposite shore. It was thought expedient that an accurate account should be taken of their numbers; but the perfons who were employed foon defifted, with amazement and difmay, from the profecution of

(65) The passage of the Danube is exposed by Ammianus (xxxi. 3, 4.), Zosimus (l. iv. p. 223, 224.), Eunapius in Expert. Legat. p. 19, 20), and Jornandes (c. 25, 26.). Ammianus declares (c. 5), that he means only, ipsas rerum digerere fummitates. But he often takes 2 false measure of their importance; and his superfluous prolixity is disagreeably balanced by his unseasonable brevity.

(66) Chishull, a curious traveller, has remarked the breadth of the Danube, which he passed to the south of Bucharest, near the conflux of the Argista (p. 77.). He admires the beauty and spontaneous plenty

of Mæsia, or Bulgaria.

of the endless and impracticable task (67): and the principal historian of the age most seriously affirms, that the prodigious armies of Darius and Xerxes, which had so long been considered as the fables of vain and credulous antiquity, were now justified, in the eyes of mankind, by the evidence of fact and experience. A probable testimony has fixed the number of the Gothic warriors at two hundred thousand men; and if we can venture to add the just proportion of women, of children, and of flaves, the whole mass of people which composed this formidable emigration, must have amounted to near a million of persons of both sexes, and of all ages. The children of the Goths, those at least a diffinguished rank, were separated They were conducted, from the multitude. without delay, to the diftant feats affigned for their relidence and education; and as the numerous train of hostages or captives passed through the cities, their gay and splendid apparel, their robust and martial figure, excited the furprise and envy of the Provincials. the stipulation, the most offensive to the Goths, and the most important to the Romans, was shamefully eluded. The Barbarians, who confidered their arms as the enligns of honour, and the pledges of fafety, were disposed to offer a price, which the lust or avarice of the Imperial officers were eafily tempted to accept. To preferve their arms, the haughty warriors consented, with some reluctance, to profittute their

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(67) Quem si scire velit, Libyci velit æquoris idem
Scire quam multæ Zephyro truduntur harenæ.

Ammianus has inserted, in his prose, these lines of Virgil (Georgic.

1. ii.), originally designed by the poet to express the impossibility of numbering the different sorts of vines. See Plin. Hist. Natur. 1. xiv.

their wives or their daughters; the charms of a beauteous maid, or a comely boy, secured the connivance of the inspectors; who sometimes cast an eye of covetousness on the fringed carpets and linen garments of their new allies (68). or who facrificed their duty to the mean confideration of filling their farms with cattle, and The Goths, with their houses with slaves. arms in their hands, were permitted to enter the boats; and, when their strength was collected on the other fide of the river, the immense camp which was spread over the plains and the hills of the Lower Mæsia, assumed a threatening and even hostile aspect. The leaders of the Oftrogoths, Alatheus and Saphrax, the guardians of their infant king, appeared foon afterwards on the Northern banks of the Danube; and immediately dispatched their ambassadors to the court of Antioch, to solicit, with the same professions of allegiance and gratitude, the fame favour which had been granted to the fuppliant Visigoths. The absolute refusal of Valens suspended their progress, and discovered the repentance, the suspicions, and the fears, of the Imperial council.

Their diftress and discontent. An undisciplined and unsettled nation of Barbarians required the firmest temper, and the most dexterous management. The daily subsistence of near a million of extraordinary subjects could be supplied only by constant and skilful diligence, and might continually be interrupted by mistake or accident. The insolence, or the indignation, of the Goths, if they

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⁽⁶⁸⁾ Eunapius and Zosimus curiously specify these articles of Gothic wealth and luxury. Yet it must be presumed, that they were the manusactures of the provinces; which the Barbarians had acquired as the spoils of war; or as the gifts, or merchandise of peace.

conceived themselves to be the objects, either of fear, or, of contempt, might urge them to the most desperate extremities; and the fortune of the state seemed to depend on the prudence, as well as the integrity, of the generals of Va-At this important criss, the military government of Thrace was exercised by Lipicinus and Maximus, in whose venal minds the slightelt hope of private emolument outweighed every confideration of public advantage; and whose guilt was only alleviated by their incapacity of differing the pernicious effects of their rash and criminal administration. Initead of obeying the orders of their fovereign, and fatisfying with decent liberality, the demands of the Goths, they levied an ungenerous and oppreffive tax on the wants of the hungry Barbarians. The vilest food was fold at an extravagant price; and, in the room of wholfome and fubitantial provisions, the markets were filled with the flesh of dogs, and of unclean animals, who had died of disease. To obtain the valuable acquisition of a pound of bread, the Goths refigned the possession of an expensive, though ferviceable, flave; and a small quantity of meat was greedily purchased with ten pounds of a precious, but useless metal (69). When their property was exhausted, they continued this necessary traffic by the sale of their sons and daughters; and notwithstanding the love of freedom,

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⁽⁶⁹⁾ Decem libras; the word filver must be understood. Jornandes betrays the passions and prejudices of a Goth. The servile Greeks, Eunapius and Zosimus, disguise the Roman oppression, and execrate the persidy of the Barbarians. Ammianus, a patriot historian, slightly, and reluctantly, touches on the odious subject. Jerom, who wrote almost on the spot, is fair, though concise. Per ayaritiam Maximi ducis, ad rebellionem same coasti sunt (in Chron.).

freedom, which animated every Gothic breaft, they submitted to the humiliating maxim, that it was better for their children to be maintained in a servile condition, than to perish in a state of wretched and helples independence. most lively resentment is excited by the tyranny of pretended benefactors, who sternly exact the debt of gratitude which they have cancelled by subsequent injuries: a spirit of discontent infenfibly arose in the camp of the Barbarians, who pleaded, without fuccess, the merit of their patient and dutiful behaviour; loudly complained of the inhospitable treatment which they had received from their new allies. They beheld around them the wealth and plenty of a fertile province, in the midst of which they suffered the intolerable hardships of artificial famine. But the means of relief, and even of revenge, were in their hands; fince the rapaciousness of their tyrants had left, to an injured people, the possession and the use of arms. The clamours of a multitude, untaught to difguife their fentiments, announced the first symptoms of refistance, and alarmed the timid and guilty minds of Lupicinus and Maximus. Those crafty ministers, who substituted the cunning of temporary expedients to the wife and falutary council of general policy, attempted to remove the Goths from their dangerous Itation on the frontiers of the empire; and to disperte them, in separate quarters of cantonment, through the interior provinces. As they were confcious how ill they had deserved the respect, or confidence, of the Barbarians, they diligently collected, from every fide, a military force, that might urge the tardy and reluctant march of a people, who had not yet renounced the title, or

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the duties, of Roman subjects. But the generals of Valens, while their attention was solely directed to the discontented Visigoths, imprudently disarmed the ships and the fortifications, which constituted the defence of the Danube. The fatal oversight was observed, and improved, by Alatheus and Saphrax, who anxiously watched the favorable moment of escaping from the pursuit of the Huns. By the help of such rafts and vessels as could be hastily procured, their king and their army, and boldly fixed an hostile and independent camp on the territories of the empire (70).

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Under the name of Judges, Alavivus and Rovolt of Fritigern were the leaders of the Visigoths in the Goths in peace and war; and the authority which they Mæsia, and derived from their birth, was ratified by the free victories. consent of the nation. In a season of tranquillity, their power might have been equal, as well as their rank; but, as foon as their countrymen were exasperated by hunger and oppression, the superior abilities of Fritigern assumed the military command, which he was qualified to exercile for the public welfare. He restrained the impatient spirit of the Visigoths, till the injuries and the infults of their tyrants should justify their relistance in the opinion of mankind: but he was not disposed to facrifice any folid advantages for the empty praise of justice and moderation. Sensible of the benefits which would refult from the union of the Gothic powers under the same standard, he secretly cultivated the triendship of the Ostrogoths; and while he protelled an implicit obedience to the orders of the Roman

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Roman generals, he proceeded by flow marches towards Marcianopolis, the capital of the Lower Mæsia, about seventy miles from the banks of the Danube. On that fatal spot, the flames of discord and mutual hatred burst forth into a dreadful coflagration. Lupicinus had invited the Gothic chiefs to a splendid entertainment; and their martial train remained under arms at the entrance of the palace. But the gates of the city were strictly guarded; and the Barbarians were sternly excluded from the use of a plentiful market, to which they afferted their equal claim of fubjects and allies. Their humble prayers were rejected with infolence and derifion; and as their patience was now exhaufted, the townsmen, the foldiers, and the Goths, were foon involved in a conflict of passionate altercation and angry reproaches. A blow was imprudently given; a fword was hastily drawn; and the first blood that was spilt in this accidental quarrel, became the fignal of a long and destructive war. In the midst of noise and brutal intemperance, Lupicinus was informed, by a fecret messenger, that many of his foldiers were flain, and despoiled of their arms; and as he was already inflamed by wine, and oppressed by sleep, he issued a rash command, that their death should be revenged by the massacre of the guards of Fritigern and Alavivus. The clamorous shouts and dying groans apprifed Fritigern of his extreme danger: and, as he possessed the calm and intrepid spirit of a hero, he saw that he was lost it he allowed a moment of deliberation to the man who had so deeply injured him. "A trifling dispute, said the Gothic leader, with a firm " but gentle tone of voice, appears to have " arisen between the two nations; but it may 1

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" be productive of the most dangerous conse-" quences, unless the tumult is immediately pa-" cified by the assurance of our safety, and the " authority of our presence." At these words, Fritigern and his companions drew their fwords, opened their pallage through the unrelifting crowd, which filled the palace, the streets, and the gates, of Marcianopolis, and, mounting their horses, hastily vanished from the eyes of the aftonished Romans. The generals of the Goths were faluted by the fierce and joyful acclamations of the camp: war was initantly refolved, and the refolution was executed without delay: the banners of the nation were displayed according to the cuftom of their ancestors; and the air resounded with the harsh and mournful music of the Barbarian trumpet (71). weak and guilty Lupicinus, who had dared to provoke, who had neglected to destroy, and who still prefumed to despise, his formidable enemy, marched against the Goths, at the head of fuch a military force as could be collected on this fudden emergency. The Barbarians expected his approach about nine miles from Marcianopolis; and on this occasion the talents of the general were found to be of more prevailing efficacy than the weapons and discipline of the troops. The valour of the Goths was fo ably

⁽⁷¹⁾ Vexillis de more sublatis, auditisque triste sonantibus classicis. Ammian. xxxi. 5. These are the rauca cornua of Claudian (in Rusin. ii. 57.), the large horns of the Uri, or wild bull; such as have been more recently used by the Swiss Cantons of Uri and Underwald (Simler de Republica Helvet. l. ii. p. 201. edit. Fuselin. Tigur. 1734.). Their military horn is finely, though casually, introduced in an original narative of the battle of Nancy (A. D. 1477.). "Attendant le combat le dit cor such corné par trois sois, tant que le vent du sousseur pouvoit durer: ce qui esbahit sort Monsieur de Burgoigne; car deja à Morat lavoit ouy." (See the Pieces Justificatives in the 4to edition of Philippe de Comines, tom. iii. p. 493.).

directed by the genius of Fritigern, that they broke, by a close and vigorous attack, the ranks of the Roman legions. Lupicinus left his arms and standards, his tribunes and his bravest soldiers, on the field of battle; and their useless courage ferved only to protect the ignominious flight of their leader. "That successful day " put an end to the distress of the Barbarians, " and the security of the Romans: from that " day, the Goths, renouncing the precarious " condition of strangers and exiles, assumed " the character of citizens and masters, claimed " an absolute dominion over the possessors of " land, and held, in their own right, the north-" ern provinces of the empire, which are bound-" ed by the Danube." Such are the words of the Gothic historian (72), who celebrates, with rude eloquence, the glory of his countrymen. But the dominion of the Barbarians was exercifed only for the purposes of rapine and destruction. As they had been deprived, by the ministers of the emperor, of the common benefits of nature, and the fair intercourse of social life, they retaliated the injustice on the subjects of the empire; and the crimes of Lupicinus They pene-were expiated by the ruin of the peaceful hufbandmen of Thrace, the conflagration of their villages, and the mallacre, or captivity, of their innocent families. The report of the Gothic victory was foon diffused over the adjacent country; and while it filled the minds of the Romans with terror and difmay, their own halty imprudence contributed to increase the forces of Fritigern, and the calamities of the province.

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(72) Jornandes de Rebus Gelicis, c. 26. p. 648. edit. Grot. These folendidi panni (they are comparatively such) are undoubtedly transcribed from the larger histories of Priscus. Ablavius, or Cassiodorus.

Some time before the great emigration, a numerous body of Goths, under the command of Suerid and Colias, had been received into the protection and service of the empire (73). were encamped under the walls of Hadrianople: but the ministers of Valens were anxious to remove them beyond the Hellespont, at a distance from the dangerous temptation which might for eafily be communicated by the neighbourhood, and the fuccess, of their countrymen. The respectful submission with which they yielded to the order of their march, might be confidered as a proof of their fidelity; and their moderate request of a sufficient allowance of provisions, and of a delay of only two days, was expressed in the most dutiful terms. But the first magistrate of Hadrianople, incented by some disorders which had been committed at his country-house, refused this indulgence; and arming against them the inhabitants and manufacturers of a populous city, he urged, with hostile threats. their instant departure. The Barbarians stood filent and amazed, till they were exasperated by the infulting clamours, and missile weapons, of the populace; but when patience or contempt was fatigued, they crushed the undisciplined multitude, inflicted many a shameful wound on the backs of their flying enemies, and despoiled them of the splendid armour (74), which they The resemblance of were unworthy to bear. their fufferings and their actions foon united this victorious detachment to the nation of the Visi-VOL. IV. goths:

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(73) Cum populis suis longe ante suscepti. We are ignorant of the precise date and circumstances of their transmigration.

⁽⁷⁴⁾ An Imperial manufacture of thields, &c. was established at Hadrianople; and the populace were headed by the Fabricenses, or workmen
(Vales, ad. Amnian, xxxi. 6.).

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goths; the troops of Colias and Suerid expected the approach of the great Fritigern, ranged themselves under his standard, and signalised their ardour in the fiege of Hadrianople. But the relistance of the garrison informed the Barbarians, that, in the attack of regular fortifications, the efforts of unskilful courage are seldom effectual. Their general acknowledged his error, raised the siege, declared that, " he was at " peace with stone walls (75)," and revenged his disappointment on the adjacent country. He accepted, with pleasure, the useful reinforcement of hardy workmen, who laboured in the gold mines of Thrace (76) for the emolument, and under the lash, of an unfeeling master (77): and these new affociates conducted the Barbarians, through the fecret paths, to the most fequestered places, which had been chosen to secure the inhabitants, the cattle, and the magazines of corn. With the assistance of such guides, nothing could remain impervious, or inaccessible: resistance was fatal; slight was impracticable; and the patient submission of helpless innocence seldom found mercy from the Barbarian conqueror. In the course of these depre-

(75) Pacem fibi effe cum parietibus memorans. Ammian. xxxi. 7.

(76) These mines were in the country of the Bess, in the ridge of mountains, the Rhodope, that runs between Philippi and Philipopolis; two Macedonian cities, which derived their name and origin from the sather of Alexander. From the mines of Thrace he annually received the value, not the weight, of a thousand talents (200,000l.); a revenue which paid the Phalanx, and corrupted the orators of Greece. See Diodor. Siculus, tom. ii. l. xvi. p. 88. edit. Wesseling. Godefroy's Commenmentary on the Theodosian Code, tom. iii. p. 496. Cellarius, Geograph-Antiq. tom. i. p. 676. 857. D'Anville, Geographie Ancienne, tom. i. p. 336.

(77) As those unhappy workmen often ran away, Valens had enacted fevere laws to drag them from their hiding-places. Cod. Theodosian. L. x. tit. xix. leg. 5. 7.

dations, a great number of the children of the Goths, who had been fold into captivity, were reftored to the embraces of their afflicted parents; but these tender interviews, which might have revived and cherished in their minds some sentiments of humanity, tended only to stimulate their native sierceness by the desire of revenge. They listened, with eager attention, to the complaints of their captive children, who had suffered the most cruel indignities from the lustful or angry passions of their masters; and the same cruelties, the same indignities, were severely retaliated on the sons and daughters of the Romans (78).

The imprudence of Valens and his ministers operations had introduced into the heart of the empire a of the Gonation of enemies: but the Visigoths might A. D. 277.

nation of enemies; but the Visigoths might A. D: 377. even yet have been reconciled, by the manly confession of past errors, and the sincere performance of former engagements. These healing and temperate measures seemed to concur with the timorous disposition of the sovereign of the East: but, on this occasion alone, Valens was brave; and his unseasonable bravery was fatal to himself and to his subjects. He declared his intention of marching from Antioch to Constantinople, to subdue this dangerous rebellion; and, as he was not ignorant of the difficulties of the enterprise, he solicited the assistance of his nephew, the emperor Gratian, who commanded all the forces of the West. The veteran troops were hastily recalled from the defence of Armenia; that important frontier was abandoned to the discretion of Sapor; and the immediate Aa 2

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⁽⁷⁸⁾ See Ammianus, xxxi. 5, 6. The historian of the Gothic war loss time and space, by an unseasonable recapitulation of the ancient inroads of the Barbarians.

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conduct of the Gothic war was entrusted, during the absence of Valens, to his lieutenants Trajan and Profuturus, two generals who indulged themselves in a very false and favourable opinion of their own abilities. On their arrival in Thrace, they were joined by Richomer, count of the domestics; and the auxiliaries of the West, that marched under his banner, were composed of the Gallic legions, reduced indeed by a spirit of desertion to the vain appearances of strength and numbers. In a council of war, which was influenced by pride, rather than by reason, it was resolved to seek, and to encounter, the Barbarians; who lay encamped in the spacious and fertile meadows, near the most fouthern of the fix mouths of the Danube (79). Their camp was furrounded by the usual fortification of waggons (80); and the Barbarians, fecure within the vast circle of the inclosure, enjoyed the fruits of their valour, and the spoils of the province. In the midst of riotous intemperance, the watchful Fritigern observed the motions, and penetrated the defigns, of the He perceived, that the numbers of the enemy were continually increasing; and, as he understood their intention of attacking his rear, as foon as the scarcity of forage should oblige him to remove his camp; he recalled to their standard his predatory detachments, which covered

(79) The Irinerary Antonius (p. 226, 227, edit. Wesseling) marks the situation of this place about fixty miles north of Tomi, Ovid's exile; and the name of Salices (the willows) expresses the nature of the soil.

⁽⁸⁰⁾ This circle of waggons, the Carrago, was the usual fortification of the Barbarians (Vegetius de Re Millitari, h. iii. c. 10. Valesius ad Ammian. xxxi. 7.). The practice and the name were preserved by their descendants, as late as the sisteenth century. The Charroy, which surrounded the Ost, is a word familiar to the readers of Froissard, or Comines.

covered the adjacent country. As foon as they descried the flaming bacons (81), they obeyed with incredible speed, the signal of their leader; the camp was filled with the martial crowd of Barbarians; their impatient clamours demanded the battle, and their tumultuous zeal was approved and animated by the spirit of their The evening was already advanced; and the two armies prepared themselves for the approaching combat, which was deferred only till the dawn of day. While the trumpets founded to arms, the undaunted courage of the Goths was confirmed by the mutual obligation of a folemn oath; and as they advanced to meet the enemy, the rude fongs, which celebrated the glory of their forefathers, were mingled with their fierce and diffonant outcries: and opposed to the artificial harmony of the Roman Some military skill was displayed by Fritigern to gain the advantage of a commanding eminence; but the bloody conflict, which began and ended with the light, was maintained, on either fide, by the personal and obstinate efforts of strength, valour, and agility. legions of Armenia supported their fame in arms; but they were oppressed by the irrelistible weight of the hostile multitude: the left wing of the Romans was thrown into disorder, and the field was strewed with their mangled car-This partial defeat was balanced, however, by partial fuccess; and when the two armies, at a late hour of the evening, retreated to their respective camps, neither of them could claim

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⁽⁸¹⁾ Statim ut accens malleoli. I have used the literal sense of real torches or beacons; but I almost suspect, that it is only one of those surgid metaphors, those salse ornaments, that perpetually disfigure the style of Ammianus.

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claim the honours, or the effects, of a decifive victory. The real loss was more severely felt by the Romans, in proportion to the smallness of their numbers; but the Goths were so deeply confounded and difmayed by this vigorous, and perhaps unexpected, relistance, that they remained seven days within the circle of their fortifications. Such funeral rites, as the circumstances of time and place would admit, were piously discharged to some officers of distinguished rank; but the indifcriminate vulgar was left unburied on the plain. Their flesh was greedily devoured by the birds of prey, who, in that age, enjoyed very frequent and delicious feasts; and feveral years afterwards the white and naked bones, which covered the wide extent of the fields, presented to the eyes of Ammianus, a dreadful monument of the battle of Salices (82).

Union of the the Huns,

The progress of the Goths had been checked Goths with by the doubtful event of that bloody day; and Alani, &c. the Imperial generals, whose army would have been confumed by the repetition of fuch a contest, embraced the more rational plan, of destroying the Barbarians, by the wants and pref-They prepared fure of their own multitudes. to confine the Visigoths in the narrow angle of land, between the Danube, the defert of Scythia, and the mountains of Hæmus, till their strength and spirit should be insensibly wasted by the inevitable operation of famine. The design was profecuted with some conduct and success; the Barbarians

⁽⁸²⁾ Indicant nunc usque albentes offibus campi. Ammian. xxxi. 7. The historian might have viewed these plains, either as a soldier or a traveller. But his modelty has suppressed the adventures of his own life subsequent to the Persian wars of Constantius and Julian. We are ignorant of the time when he quitted the fervice, and retired to Rome, where he appears to have composed his History of his Own Times.

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Barbarians had almost exhausted their own magazines, and the harvests of the country; and the diligence of Saturninus, the master-general of the cavalry, was employed to improve the itrength, and to contract the extent, of the Roman fortifications. His labours were interrupted by the alarming intelligence, that new swarms of Barbarians had passed the unguarded Danube, either to support the cause, or to imitate The just apprethe example, of Fritigern. hendion, that he himself might be surrounded, and overwhelmed, by the arms of hostile and unknown nations, compelled Saturninus to relinquish the siege of the Gothic camp; and the indignant Visigoths, breaking from their coninnement, fatiated their hunger and revenge, by the repeated devastation of the fruitful country, which extends above three hundred miles from the banks of the Danube to Itreights of the Hellespont (83). The fagacious Fritigern had fuccessfully appealed to the passions, as well as to the interest, of his Barbarian allies; and the love of rapine, and the hatred of Rome, seconded, or even prevented, the eloquence of his ambassadors. He cemented a strict and useful alliance with the great body of his countrymen, who obeyed Alatheus and Saphrax as the guardians of their infant king: the long animolity of rival tribes was suspended by the sense of their common interest; the independent part of the nation was affociated under one standard; and the chiefs of the Ostrogoths appear to have yielded to the superior genius of the general of the Visigoths. He obtained the formidable aid of the Taifalæ, whose military renown was dis-

graced and polluted by the public infamy of their domestic manners. Every youth, on his entrance into the world, was united by the ties of honourable friendship, and brutal love, to fome warrior of the tribe; nor could he hope to be released from this unnatural connection. till he had approved his manhood, by flaying, in fingle combat, a huge bear, or a wild boar of the forest (84). But the most powerful auxiliaries of the Goths were drawn from the camp of those enemies who had expelled them from The loofe subordination, their native feats. and extensive possessions, of the Huns and the Alani, delayed the conquests, and distracted the councils, of that victorious people. Several of the Hords were allured by the liberal promises of Fritigern; and the rapid cavalry of Scythia, added weight and energy to the steady and strenuous efforts of the Gothic infantry. The Sarmatians, who could never forgive the successor of Valentinian, enjoyed and encreased the general confusion; and a seasonable irruption of the Alemanni, into the provinces of Gaul, engaged the attention, and diverted the forces, of the emperor of the West (85).

Victory of Gratianover One of the most dangerous inconveniencies the Aleman-of the introduction of the Barbarians into the ni,

A. D. 378.

May.

⁽⁸⁴⁾ Hanc Taisalorum gentem turpem, et obscenz vitz flagitiis ita accipimus mersam; ut apud eos nesandi concubitus sædere copulentur mares puberes, ztatis viriditatem in eorum pollutis usibus consumpturi. Porco si quii jam adultus aprum exceperit solus, vel interemit ursum immanem, colluvione liberatur incesti. Ammian. xxi. 9. Among the Greeks likewise, more especially among the Cretans, the holy bands of friendship were consirmed, and sullied, by unnatural love.

⁽⁸⁵⁾ Ammian. xxxi. 8, 9. Jerom. (tom. i. p. 26.) enumerates the nations, and marks a calamitous period of twenty years. This epiftle to Heliodorus was composed in the year 397 (Tillemont, Mem. Eccles. 30m. xii. p. 645.).

army and the palace, was fensibly felt in their correspondence with their hostile countrymen; to whom they imprudently, or maliciously, revealed the weakness of the Roman empire. A foldier, of the life-guards of Gratian, was of the nation of the Alemanni, and of the tribe of the Lentienses, who dwell beyond the lake of Constance. Some domestic business obliged him to request a leave of absence. In a short visit to his family and friends, he was exposed to their curious inquiries; and the vanity of the loquacious foldier tempted him to display his intimate acquaintance with the secrets of the state, and the deligns of his mafter. The intelligence, that Gratian was preparing to lead the military force of Gaul, and of the West, to the assistance of his uncle Valens, pointed out to the restless spirit of the Alemanni, the moment, and the mode, of a successful invasion. The enterprise of some light detachments, who, in the month of February, passed the Rhine upon the ice, was the prelude of a more important war. The boldest hopes of rapine, perhaps of conquest, outweighed the considerations of timid prudence, or national faith. Every forest, and every village, poured forth a band of hardy adventurers; and the great army of the Alemanni, which, on their approach, was estimated at forty thousand men by the fears of the people, was afterwards magnified to the number of seventy thousand, by the vain and credulous flattery of the Imperial court. The legions. which had been ordered to march into Pannonia, were immediately recalled, or detained, for the defence of Gaul; the military command was divided between Nanienus and Mellobaudes; and the youthful emperor, though he respected the

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the long experience and fober wisdom of the former, was much more inclined to admire, and to follow, the martial ardour of his colleague; who was allowed to unite the incompatible characters of count of the domestics, and of king of the Franks. His rival Priarius, king of the Alemanni, was guided, or rather impelled, by the same headstrong valour: and as their troops were animated by the spirit of their leaders, they met, they faw, they encountered, each other, near the town of Argentaria, or Colmar (86), in the plains of Alface. The glory of the day was justly ascribed to the missile weapons, and well-practifed evolutions, of the Roman foldiers: the Alemanni, who long maintained their ground, were flaughtered with unrelenting fury: five thousand only of the Barbarians escaped to the woods and mountains; and the glorious death of their king on the field of battle, faved him from the reproaches of the people, who are always disposed to accuse the justice, or policy, of an unsuccessful war. After this fignal victory, which secured the peace of Gaul, and afferted the honour of the Roman arms, the emperor Gratian appeared to proceed without delay on his Eastern expedition; but as he approached the confines of the Alemanni, he fuddenly inclined to the left, surprised them by his unexpected passage of the Rhine, and boldly advanced into the heart of the country. The Barbarians opposed to his progress the obstacles of nature and of courage; and still con-

⁽⁸⁶⁾ The field of battle, Argentaria, or Argentovaria, is accurately fixed by M. d'Anville (Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule, p. 96—99.) at twenty-three Gallic leagues, or thirty four and a half Roman miles, to the South of Strasburgh. From its ruins the adjacent town of Colmar has arisen.

tinued to retreat, from one hill to another, till they were fatisfied, by repeated trials, of the power and perseverance of their enemies. Their submission was accepted, as a proof, not indeed of their fincere repentance, but of their actual diffress; and a select number of their brave and robuit youth was exacted from the faithless nation, as the most substantial pledge of their future moderation. The subjects of the empire, who had so often experienced, that the Alemanni could neither be subdued by arms, nor restrained by treaties, might not promise themfelves any folid or lafting tranquility: but they discovered, in the virtues of their young sovereign, the prospect of a long and auspicious When the legions climbed the mountains, and scaled the fortifications, of the Barbarians, the valour of Gratian was distinguished in the foremost ranks; and the gilt and variegated armour of his guards was pierced and shattered by the blows, which they had received in their constant attachment to the person of their fovereign. At the age of nineteen, the fon of Valentinian seemed to possess the talents of peace and war; and his personal success against the Alemanni was interpreted as a sure presage of his Gothic triumphs (87).

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While Gratian deserved and enjoyed the ap-valens plause of his subjects, the emperor Valens, who, marches at length, had removed his court and army from goths, Antioch, was received by the people of Con-A. D. 378. May 30th—stantinople as the author of the public calamity. June 11th. Before he had reposed himself ten days in the

capital,

⁽⁸⁷⁾ The full and impartial narrative of Ammianus (xxxi. 10.) may derive fome additional light from the Epitome of Victor, the Chronicle of Jerom, and the Hittory of Orofius (I. vii. c. 33. p. 552. edit. Havercamp.).

capital, he was urged, by the licentious clamours of the Hippodrome, to march against the Barbarians, whom he had invited into his dominions; and the citizens, who are always brave at a distance from any real danger, declared, with confidence, that, if they were supplied with arms, they alone would undertake to deliver the province from the ravages of an infulting foe (88). The vain reproaches of an ignorant multitude hastened the downfal of the Roman Empire; they provoked the desperate rashness of Valens; who did not find, either in his reputation, or in his mind, any motives to support with firmness the public contempt. He was foon perfuaded, by the successful atchievements of his lieutenants, to despise the power of the Goths, who, by the diligence of Fritigern, were now collected in the neighbourhood of Hadrianople. The march of the Taifalæ had been intercepted by the valiant Frigerid; the king of those licentious Barbarians was slain in battle; and the suppliant captives were sent into distant exile to cultivate the lands of Italy, which were assigned for their settlement, in the vacant territories of Modena and Parma (89). The exploits of Sebastian (90), who was recent-

⁽⁸⁸⁾ Moratus paucissimos dies, sedicione popularem levium pulsus. Ammian. xxxi. 11. Socrates (1. iv. c. 38.) supplies the dates and some circumstances.

⁽⁸⁹⁾ Nivosque omnes circa Mutinam, Resiumque, et Parmam, Italica oppida, rura culturos exterminavit. Ammianus, xxxi. 9. Those cities and districts, about ten years after the colony of the Taifalæ, appear in a very desolate thate. See Muratori, Differtazioni sopra le Antichia Italiane, tom. i. Differt. xxi. p. 354.

⁽⁹⁰⁾ Ammian. xxxi. 11. Zosimus, l. iv. p. 228. -230. The latter expatiates on the desultory exploits of Sebastian, and dispatches, in a few lines, the important battle of Hadrianople. According to the ecclesiastical critics, who hate Sebastian, the praise of Zosimus is disgrace (Tillemont,

ly engaged in the service of Valens, and promoted to the rank of master-general of the infantry, were still more honourable to himself, and useful to the republic. He obtained the permission of selecting three hundred soldiers from each of the legions; and this separate detachment foon acquired the spirit of discipline, and the exercise of arms, which were almost forgotten under the reign of Valens. By the vigour and conduct of Sebastian, a large body of the Goths was surprised in their camp; and the immense spoil, which was recovered from their hands, filled the city of Hadrianople, and the adjacent plain. The splendid narratives, which the general transmitted of his own exploits, alarmed the Imperial court by the appearance of superior merit; and though he cautiously insisted on the difficulties of the Gothic war, his valour was praised, his advice was rejected; and Valens, who liftened with pride and pleasure to the flattering suggestions of the eunuchs of the palace, was impatient to feize the glory of an easy and assured conquest. His army was strengthened by a numerous reinforcement of veterans: and his march from Constantinople to Hadrianople was conducted with fo much military skill, that he prevented the activity of the Barbarians, who defigned to occupy the intermediate defiles, and to intercept either the troops themselves, or their convoys of pro-The camp of Valens, which he pitched under the walls of Hadrianople, was fortified, according to the practice of the Romans, with a ditch and rampart, and a most important

Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 121.). His prejudice and ignorance undoubtedly render him a very questionable judge of merit.

council was fummoned, to decide the fate of the emperor and of the empire. The party of reason and of delay was strenuously maintained by Victor, who had corrected, by the lessons of experience, the native fierceness of the Sarmatian character; while Sebastian, with the flexible and obsequious eloquence of a courtier, reprefented every precaution, and every measure, that implied a doubt of immediate victory, as unworthy of the courage and majesty of their invincible monarch. The ruin of Valens was precipitated by the deceitful arts of Fritigern, and the prudent admonitions of the emperor of the West. The advantages of negociating in the midst of war, were perfectly understood by the general of the Barbarians; and a Christian ecclefiaftic was dispatched, as the holy minister of peace, to penetrate, and to perplex, the councils of the enemy. The misfortunes, as well as the provocations, of the Gothic nation, were forciby and truly described by their ambassador; who protested, in the name of Fritigern, that he was still disposed to lay down his arms, or to employ them only in the defence of the empire; if he could fecure, for his wandering countrymen, a tranquil settlement on the waste lands of Thrace, and a sufficient allowance of corn and cattle. But he added, in a whisper of confidential friendship, that the exasperated Barbarians were averse to these reasonable conditions; and, that Fritigern was doubtful whether he could accomplish the conclusion of the treaty, unless he found himself supported by the presence, and terrors, of an Imperial army. About the same time, Count Richomer returned from the West, to announce the defeat and submission of the Alemanni, to inforap tor nan ry ful fho Bu ate lou he par

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inform Valens, that his nephew advanced by rapid marches at the head of the veteran and victorious legions of Gaul; and to request, in the name of Gratian, and of the republic, that every dangerous and decifive measure might be fuspended, till the junction of the two emperors should ensure the success of the Gothic war. But the feeble sovereign of the East was actuated only by the fatal illusions of pride and jealoufy. He disdained the importunate advice; he rejected the humiliating aid; he fecretly compared the ignominious, at least the inglorious, period of his own reign, with the fame of a beardless youth; and Valens rushed into the field, to erect his imaginary trophy, before the diligence of his colleague could usurp any share of the triumphs of the day.

On the ninth of August, a day which has de-Battle of served to be marked among the most inauspicious Hadriano-of the Roman Calendar (91), the emperor Va-A.D. 378. lens, leaving, under a strong guard, his baggage August 9th, and military treasure, marched from Hadrianople to attack the Goths, who were encamped about twelve miles from the city (92). By some mistake of the orders, or some ignorance of the ground, the right wing, or column of cavalry, arrived in sight of the enemy, whilst the left was still at a considerable distance; the soldiers were compelled, in the sultry heat of summer, to

precipitate

(91) Ammianus (xxxi. 12, 13.) almost alone describes the councils and actions which were terminated by the fatal battle of Hadrianople. We might censure the vices of his style, the disorder and perplexity of his narrative; but we must now take leave of this impartial historian; and reproach is silenced by our regret for such an irreparable loss.

(92) The difference of the eight miles of Ammianus, and the twelve of Idatius, can only embarrass those critics (Valesius ad loc.), who suppose a great army to be a mathematical point, without space or disconnections.

precipitate their pace; and the line of battle was formed with tedious confusion, and irregular delay. The Gothic cavalry had been detached to forage in the adjacent country; and Fritigern still continued to practife his customary arts. He dispatched messengers of peace, made proposals, required hostages, and wasted the hours, till the Romans, exposed without shelter to the burning rays of the fun, were exhausted by thirst, hunger, and intolerable fatigue. The emperor was persuaded to send an ambassador to the Gothic camp; the zeal of Richomer, who alone had courage to accept the dangerous commission, was applauded: and the count of the domestics, adorned with the splendid ensigns of his dignity, had proceeded some way in the space between the two armies, when he was suddenly recalled by the alarm of battle. The hafty and imprudent attack was made by Bacurius the Iberian, who commanded a body of archers and targetteers; and as they advanced with rashness, they retreated with loss and disgrace. In the same moment, the flying squadrons of Alatheus and Saphrax, whose return was anxiously expected by the general of the Goths, descended like a whirlwind from the hills, fwept across the plain, and added new terrors to the tumultuous, but irrefistible, charge of the Barbarian host. event of the Battle of Hadrianople, so fatal to the Romans. Valens and to the empire, may be described in a few words: the Roman cavalry fled; the infantry was abandoned, furrounded, and cut in pieces. The most skilful evolutions, the firmest courage, are scarcely sufficient to extricate a body of foot, encompassed, on an open plain, by superior numbers of horse: but the troops of Valens, oppressed by the weight of the enemy and

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and their own fears, were crowded into a narrow fpace, where it was impossible for them to extend their ranks, or even to use, with effect, their swords and javelins. In the midst of tumult, of flaughter, and of difmay, the emperor, deferted by his guards, and wounded, as it was supposed, with an arrow, fought protection among the Lancearii and the Mattiarii, who still maintained their ground with some appearance of order and firmness. His faithful generals, Trajan and Victor, who perceived his danger, loudly exclaimed, that all was loft, unless the person of the emperor could be faved. Some troops, animated by their exhortation, advanced to his relief: they found only a bloody spot, covered with a heap of broken arms, and mangled bodies, without being able to discover their unfortunate prince, either among the living, or the dead. Their fearch could not indeed be successful, if there is any truth in the circumstances, with which fome hiftorians have related the death of the emperor. By the care of his attendants, Death of the Valens was removed from the field of battle to emperor Vaa neighbouring cottage, where they attempted to dress his wound, and to provide for his future But this humble retreat was instantly furrounded by the enemy: they tried to force the door; they were provoked by a discharge of arrows from the roof; till at length, impatient of delay, they fet fire to a pile of dry faggots, and confumed the cottage, with the Roman emperor and his train. Valens perished in the slames; and a youth who dropt from the window, alone escaped, to attest the melancholy tale, and to inform the Goths of the inestimable prize which they had loft by their own rashness. A great number of brave and distinguished officers pe-VOL. IV.

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rished in the battle of Hadrianople, which equalled, in the actual loss, and far surpassed, in the fatal consequences, the misfortune which Rome had formerly sustained in the fields of Cannæ (93). Two mafter-generals of the cavalry and infantry, two great officers of the palace, and thirty five tribunes, were found among the flain; and the death of Sebastian might satisfy the world, that he was the victim, as well as the author, of the public calamity. Above two-thirds of the Roman army were destroyed: and the darkness of the night was esteemed a very favourable circumstance; as it served to conceal the flight of the multitude, and to protect the more orderly retreat of Victor and Richomer, who alone, amidst the general consternation, maintained the advantage of calm courage, and regular discipline (94).

While the impressions of grief and terror were still recent in the minds of men, the most celebrated rhetorician of the age composed the funeral oration of a vanquished army, and of an Funeral oral unpopular prince, whose throne was already tion of Va-occupied by a stranger. "There are not want-

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lens and his "ing," fays the candid Libanius, "those who arraign

(93) Nec ullâ, annalibus, præter Cannensem pugnam its ad internecionem res legitur gesta. Ammian. xxxi. 13. According to the grave Polybius, no more than 370 horse, and 3000 foot, escaped from the field of Cannæ: 10,000 were made prisoners; and the number of the slain amounted to 5630 horse, and 70,000 foot (Polyb. I. iii. p. 371. edit. Casaubon, in 8vo). Livy (xxii. 49.) is somewhat less bloody: he slaughters only 2700 horse, and 40,000 foot. The Roman army was supposed to consist of 87,200 effective men (xxii. 36.).

(94) We have gained some faint light from Jerom (tom. i. p. 26. and in Chron. p. 188.), Victor (in Epitome), Orosius (l. vii. c. 33. p. 554.), Jornandes (c. 27.), Zosimus (l. iv. p. 230.), Socrates (l. iv. c. 38.) Sozomen (l. vi. c. 40.), Idatius (in Chron.). But their united evidence,

if weighed against Ammianus alone, is light and unsubstantial.

arraign the prudence of the emperor, or who " impute the public misfortune to the want of " courage and discipline in the troops. For my " own part, I reverence the memory of their " former exploits: I reverence the glorious " death, which they bravely received, standing, " and fighting in their ranks: I reverence the " field of battle, stained with their blood, and " the blood of the Barbarians. Those honoura-" ble marks have been already washed away by " the rains; but the lofty monuments of their " bones, the bones of generals, of centurions, " and of valiant warriors, claim a longer period " of duration. The king himself fought and " fell in the foremost ranks of the battle. His " attendants presented him with the fleetest " horses of the Imperial stable, that would soon " have carried him beyond the pursuit of the " enemy. They vainly pressed him to reserve " his important life for the future service of the " republic. He still declared, that he was un-" worthy to survive so many of the bravest and " most faithful of his subjects; and the monarch was nobly buried under a mountain of the Let none, therefore, prefume to " ascribe the victory of the Barbarians to the " fear, the weakness, or the imprudence, of the " Roman troops. The chiefs and the foldiers " were animated by the virtue of their ancest-" ors, whom they equalled in discipline, and " the arts of war. Their generous emulation " was supported by the love of glory, which prompted them to contend at the fame time " with heat and thirst, with fire and the sword; " and cheerfully to embrace an honourable " death, as their refuge against flight and infa-" my. The indignation of the gods has been " the Bb 2

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" the only cause of the success of our enemies." The truth of hiftory may disclaim some parts of this panegyric, which cannot strictly be reconciled with the character of Valens, or the circumstances of the battle: but the fairest commendation is due to the eloquence, and still more to the generofity, of the fophist of Antioch (95).

The Goths drianople.

The pride of the Goths was elated by this mebesiege Ha- morable victory; but their avarice was disappointed by the mortifying discovery, that the richest part of the Imperial spoil had been within the walls of Hadrianople. They hastened to possess the reward of their valour; but they were encountered by the remains of a vanquished army, with an intrepid resolution, which was the effect of their despair, and the only hope of their fafety. The walls of the city, and the ramparts of the adjacent camp, were lined with military engines, that threw stones of an enormous weight; and aftonished the ignorant Barbarians by the noise, and velocity, still more than by the real effects, of the discharge. foldiers, the citizens, the provincials, the domestics of the palace, were united in the danger, and in the defence: the furious affault of the Goths was repulsed; their secret arts of treachery and treason were discovered; and, after an obstinate conflict of many hours, they retired to their tents; convinced, by experience, that it would be far more adviseable to observe the treaty, which their fagacious leader had tacitly stipulated with the fortifications of great and populous cities. After the hafty and impolitic massacre

⁽⁹⁵⁾ Libanius de ulcisend. Julian. Nece, c. 3. in Fabricius, Bibliot. Grzc. tom. vii. p. 146-148.

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massacre of three hundred deserters, an act of justice extremely useful to the discipline of the Roman armies, the Goths indignantly raifed the flege of Hadrianople. The scene of war and tumult was instantly converted into a lilent solitude: the multitude suddenly disappeared; the fecret paths of the woods and mountains were marked with the footsteps of the trembling fugitives, who fought a refuge in the distant cities of Illyricum and Macedonia: and the faithful officers of the household, and the treasury, cautiously proceeded in search of the emperor, of whose death they were still ignorant. of the Gothic inundation rolled from the walls of Hadrianople to the fuburbs of Conftantinople. The Barbarians were furprifed with the splendid appearance of the capital of the East, the height and extent of the walls, the myriads of wealthy and affrighted citizens who crowded the ramparts, and the various prospect of the sea and land. While they gazed with hopeless defire on the inaccessible beauties of Constantinople, a fally was made from one of the gates by a party of Saracens (96), who had been fortunately engaged in the service of Valens. The cavalry of Scythia was forced to yield to the admirable fwiftness and spirit of the Arabian horses: their riders were skilled in the evolutions of irregular war; and the Northern Barbarians were aftonished, and dismayed, by the inhuman ferocity of the Barbarians of the South. A Gothic foldier

⁽⁹⁶⁾ Valens had gained, or rather purchased, the friendship of the Saracens, whose vexatious inroads were selt on the borders of Phænicia, Palestine, and Egypt. The Christian saith had been lately introduced among a people, reserved, in a suture age, to propagate another religion (Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 104. 106. 141. Mem. Eccles. tom. vii. p. 593.).

dier was slain by the dagger of an Arab; and the hairy, naked favage, applying his lips to the wound, expressed a horrid delight, while he fucked the blood of his vanquished enemy (97). The army of the Goths, laden with the spoils of the wealthy fuburbs, and the adjacent territory, flowly moved, from the Bolphorus, to the mountains which form the western boundary of The important pass of Succi was betrayed by the fear, or the misconduct, of Maurus; and the Barbarians, who no longer had any resistance to apprehend from the scattered and vanquished troops of the East, spread themselves over the face of a fertile and cultivated country, as far as the confines of Italy, and the Hadriatic Sea (98).

They ravage

The Romans, who so coolly, and so concisethe Roman ly, mention the acts of justice which were exer-A. D. 378, cifed by the legions (99), referve their compasfion, and their eloquence, for their own fufferings, when the provinces were invaded, and defolated, by the arms of the successful Barbarians.

> (97) Crinitus quidam, nudus omnia præter pubem, subrancum et lugubre strepens. Ammian, xxxi. 16. and Vales. ad loc. The Arabs often fought naked; a custom which may be ascribed to their sultry climate, and oftentatious bravery. The description of this unknown lavage is the lively portrait of Derur, a name so dreadful to the Christians of Syria. See Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 72. 84. 87.

> (98) The series of events may still be traced in the last pages of Ammianus (xxxi. 15, 16.). Zofimus (l. iv. p. 227. 231.). whom we are now reduced to cherish, misplaces the sally of the Arabs before the death of Valens. Eunapius (in Excerpt. Legation. p. 20.) praises the fertility of

Thrace, Macedonia, &c.

(99) Observe with how much indifference Cæsar relates, in the Commentaries of the Gallic War; that he put to death the whole senate of the Veneti, who had yielded to his mercy (iii. 16.); that he laboured to extirpate the whole nation of the Eburones (vi. 31.); that forty thousand persons were massacred at Bourges by the just revenge of his soldiers, who spared neither age nor sex (vii. 27.), &c.

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The fimple circumstantial narrative (did fuch a narrative exist) of the ruin of a single town, of the misfortunes of a fingle family (100), might exhibit an interesting and instructive picture of human manners: but the tedious repetition of vague and declamatory complaints would fatigue the attention of the most patient The same censure may be applied, though not perhaps in an equal degree, to the prophane, and the ecclefiaftical, writers of this unhappy period; that their minds were inflamed by popular, and religious, animolity; and, that the true fize and colour of every object is falfified by the exaggerations of their corrupt elo-The vehement Jerom (101) might quence. just'y deplore the calamities inflicted by the Goths, and their barbarous allies, on his native country of Pannonia, and the wide extent of the provinces, from the walls of Constantinople to the foot of the Julian Alps; the rapes, the massacres, the conflagrations; and, above all, the profanation of the churches, that were turned into stables, and the contemptuous treatment of the relics of holy martyrs. But the Saint is furely transported beyond the limits of nature and history, when he affirms, "that, in those " defert countries, nothing was left except the " Iky and the earth; that, after the destruction " of the cities, and the extirpation of the " human

(100) Such are the accounts of the Sack of Magdeburgh, by the ecclefiaftic and the fisherman, which Mr. Harte has transcribed (Hift. of Gustavus Adolphus, vol. i. p. 313-320.), with some apprehension of violating the dignity of history.

(101) Et vastatis urbibus, hominibusque intersectis, solitudinem et raritatem bestiarum quoque sieri, et volatilium, pisciumque: testis Illyricum est, testis Thracia, testis in quo ortus sum (Pannonia); ubi præter coelum et terram, et crescentes vepres, et coadensa sylvarum cunsta perierunt. Tom. vii. p. 250. ad 1. Cap. Sophonias; and tom. i. p. 26.

" human race, the land was overgrown with " thick forests, and inextricable brambles; and "that the universal desolation, announced by " the prophet Zephaniah, was accomplished, in " the scarcity of the beasts, the birds, and even " of the fish." These complaints were pronounced about twenty years after the death of Valens; and the Illyrian provinces, which were constantly exposed to the invasion and passage of the Barbarians, still continued, after a calamitous period of ten centuries, to supply new materials for rapine and destruction. Could it even be fupposed, that a large tract of country had been left without cultivation, and without inhabitants, the consequences might not have been so fatal to the inferior productions of animated nature. The ufeful and feeble animals, which are nourished by the hand of man, might suffer and perish, if they were deprived of his protection: but the beafts of the forest, his enemies, or his victims, would multiply in the free and undisturbed possession of their solitary domain. The various tribes that people the air, or the waters, are still less connected with the fate of the human species; and it is highly probable, that the fish of the Danube would have felt more terror and diffress, from the approach of a voracious pike, than from the hostile inroad of a Gothic army.

Maffacre of Whatever may have been the just measure of the Gothic youth in Asia the calamities of Europe, there was reason to A. D. 378. fear that the same calamities would soon extend to the peaceful countries of Asia. The sons of the Goths had been judiciously distributed through the cities of the East; and the arts of education were employed, to polish, and subdue, the native fierceness of their temper. In the space of

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about twelve years, their numbers had continually increased; and the children, who, in the first emigration, were sent over the Hellespont, had attained, with rapid growth, the strength and spirit of perfect manhood (102). It was impossible to conceal from their knowledge the events of the Gothic war; and, as those daring youths had not studied the language of dissimulation, they betrayed their with, their defire, perhaps their intention, to emulate the glorious example of their fathers. The danger of the times feemed to justify the jealous suspicions of the provincials; and these suspicions were admitted as unquestionable evidence, that the Goths of Asia had formed a secret and dangerous conspiracy against the public safety. The death of Valens had left the East without a sovereign; and Julius, who filled the important station of mafter-general of the troops, with a high reputation of diligence and ability, thought it his duty to confult the senate of Constantinople; which he confidered, during the vacancy of the throne, as the representative council of the nation. As foon as he had obtained the difcretionary power of acting as he should judge most expedient for the good of the republic, he affembled the principal officers; and privately concerted effectual measures for the execution of his bloody defign. An order was immediately promulgated, that, on a stated day, the Gothic youth should assemble in the capital cities of their respective provinces; and, as a report was industriously circulated, that they were summon-

⁽¹⁰²⁾ Eunapius (in Excerpt. Legat. p. 20.) foolishly supposes a præternatural growth of the young Goths; that he may introduce Cadmus's armed men, who sprung from the dragon's teeth, &c. Such was the Greek eloquence of the times.

ed to receive a liberal gift of lands and money, the pleasing hope allayed the fury of their resentment, and perhaps suspended the motions of the conspiracy. On the appointed day, the unarmed crowd of the Gothic youth was carefully collected in the square, or Forum: the streets and avenues were occupied by the Roman troops; and the roofs of the houses were covered with archers and flingers. At the fame hour, in all the cities of the East, the signal was given of indifcriminate flaughter; and the provinces of Asia were delivered, by the cruel prudence of Julius, from a domestic enemy, who, in a few months, might have carried fire and fword from the Hellespont to the Euphrates (103). urgent confideration of the public safety may undoubtedly authorise the violation of every politive law. How far, that, or any other, consideration, may operate, to dissolve the natural obligations of humanity and justice, is a doctrine, of which I still defire to remain ignorant.

Theemperor Gratian inthe East, January 19.

The emperor Gratian was far advanced on his vests Theo. march towards the plains of Hadrianople, when dosius with he was informed, at first by the confused voice of fame, and afterwards by the more accurate A. D. 379, reports of Victor and Richomer, that his impatient colleague had been flain in battle, and that two-thirds of the Roman army were exterminated by the fword of the victorious Goths. Whatever refentment the rash and jealous vanity of his uncle might deserve, the resentment of a generous

⁽¹⁰³⁾ Ammianus evidently approves this execution, efficacia velox et falutaris, which concludes his work (xxxi. 16.). Zofimus, who is curious and copious (l. iv. p. 233-236.), mistakes the date, and labours to find the reason, why Julius did not consult the emperor Theodosius; who had not yet ascended the throne of the East.

generous mind is easily subdued by the softer emotions of grief and compassion: and even the sense of pity was soon lost in the serious and alarming confideration of the state of the republic: Gratian was too late to affift, he was too weak to revenge, his unfortunate colleague: and the valiant and modest youth felt himself unequal to the support of a finking world. formidable tempest of the Barbarians of Germany seemed ready to burst over the provinces of Gaul; and the mind of Gratian was oppressed, and distracted, by the administration of the Western Empire. In this important crisis, the government of the East, and the conduct of the Gothic war, required the undivided attention of a hero and a statesman. A subject invested with fuch ample command would not long have preferved his fidelity to a distant benefactor; and the Imperial council embraced the wife and manly resolution, of conferring an obligation, rather than of yielding to an infult. It was the wish of Gratian to bestow the purple as the reward of virtue; but, at the age of nineteen, it is not easy for a prince, educated in the supreme rank, to understand the true characters of his ministers and generals. He attempted to weigh, with an impartial hand, their various merits and defects; and, whilst he checked the rash confidence of ambition, he distrusted the cautious wisdom, which despaired of the republic. each moment of delay diminished something of the power and resources of the future sovereign of the East, the situation of the times would not The choice of Gratian allow a tedious debate. was foon declared in favour of an exile, whose father, only three years before, had suffered, under the fanction of his authority, an unjust

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and ignominious death. The great Theodosius, a name celebrated in history, and dear to the Catholic Church (104), was fummoned to the Imperial court, which had gradually retreated from the confines of Thrace to the more secure station of Sirmium. Five months after the death of Valens, the emperor Gratian produced before the affembled troops, bis colleague, and their master; who, after a modest, perhaps a fincere, resistance, was compelled to accept, amidst the general acclamations, the diadem, purple, and the equal title of Augustus (105. The provinces of Thrace, Asia, and Egypt, over which Valens had reigned, were refigned to the administration of the new emperor: but, as he was specially entrusted with the conduct of the Gothic war, the Illyrian præfecture was dismembered; and the two great dioceses of Dacia and Macedonia were added to the dominions of the Eastern empire (106).

The fame province, and, perhaps, the fame Birth and character of city (107), which had given to the throne the

(104) A life of Theodosius the Great was composed in the last century (Paris 1679, in 4to; 1680, in 12mo), to inflame the mind of the young Dauphin with Catholic zeal. The author, Flechier, afterwards Bishop of Nismes, was a celebrated preacher; and his history is adorned, or tainted, with pulpit-eloquence; but he takes his learning from Baronius, and his principles from St. Ambrose and St. Augustin.

(105) The birth, character, and elevation of Theodosius, are marked in Pacatus (in Panegyr. Vet. xii. 10. 11, 12.), Themistius (Orat. xiv. p. 182.), Zosimus l. iv. p. 231.), Augustin (de Civitat Dei, v. 25.), Orosius (l. vii. c. 34.), Sozomen (l. vii. c. 2.), Socrates (l. v. c. 2.), Theodoret (l. v. c. 5.), Philottorgius (l ix. c. 17. with Godefroy, p. 393.), the Epitome of Victor, and the Chronicles of Prosper, Idatius, and

Marcellinus, in the Thefaurus Temporum of Scaliger.

(106) Tillemont. Hitt. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 716, &c.

(107) Italica, founded by Scipio Africanus for his wounded veterans of Italy. The ruins still appear, about a league above Seville, but on the opposite bank of the river. See the Hispania Illustra of Nonius, a short, though valuable, treatise. C. xvii. p. 64-67.

virtues of Trajan, and the talents of Hadrian, was the original feat of another family of Spaniards, who, in a lefs fortunate age, possessed, near fourscore years, the declining empire of Rome (108). They emerged from the obscurity of municipal honours by the active spirit of the elder Theodofius, a general, whose exploits in Britain and Africa have formed one of the most splendid parts of the annals of Valentinian. The fon of that general, who likewise bore the name of Theodosius, was educated, by skilful preceptors, in the liberal studies of youth; but he was instructed in the art of war by the tender care and severe discipline of his father (109). Under the standard of such a leader, young Theodofius fought glory and knowledge, in the most distant scenes of military action; inured his constitution to the difference of the seasons and climates; distinguished his valour by sea and land; and observed the various warfare of the Scots, the Saxons, and the Moors. His own merit, and the recommendation of the conqueror of Africa, foon raifed him to a feparate command: and, in the station of Duke of Mæsia, he vanquished an army of Sarmatians; saved the province; deserved the love of the soldiers and;

⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ I agree with Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 726.) in suspecting the royal pedigree, which remained a secret till the promotion of Theodosius. Even after that event, the silence of Pacatus outweighs the venal evidence of Themistius, Victor, and Claudian, who connect the samily of Theodosius with the blood of Trajan and Hadrian.

⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ Pacatus compares, and consequently prefers, the youth of Theodosius, to the military education of Alexander, Hannibal, and the second Africanus; who, like him, had served under their fathers (xii. 8.).

and provoked the envy of the court (110). His rifing fortunes were foon blafted by the difgrace and execution of his illustrious father; and Theodosius obtained, as a favour, the permission of retiring to a private life, in his native province of Spain. He displayed a firm and temperate character in the ease with which he adapted himself to this new fituation. His time was almost equally divided between the town and country: the spirit, which had animated his public conduct, was shewn in the active and affectionate performance of every focial duty; and the diligence of the foldier was profitably converted to the improvement of his ample patrimony (111), which lay between Valladolid and Segovia, in the midst of a fruitful diffrict, still famous for a most exquilite breed of sheep (112). From the innocent, but humble, labours of his farm, Theodosius was transported, in less than four months, to the throne of the Eastern empire: and the whole period of the history of the world will not perhaps afford a fimilar example, of an elevation, at the fame time, so pure, and so honourable. The princes who peaceably inherit the sceptre of their fathers, claim and enjoy a legal right, the more fecure, as it is absolutely distinct from the merits of their personal characters. The subjects, who

⁽¹¹⁰⁾ Ammianus (xxix. 6.) mentions this victory of, Theodosius Junior Dux Mæsiæ, prima etiam tum lanugine juvenis, princeps postea perspectissimus. The same sact is attested by Themittius and Zosimus, but Theodoret (l. v. c. 5.), who adds some circumstances, thrangely applies it to the time of the Interregnum.

⁽¹¹¹⁾ Pacatus (in Panegyr. Vet. xii. 9.) prefers the ruttic life of Theodofius to that of Cincinnatus: the one was the effect of choice, the other of poverty.

⁽¹¹²⁾ M. d'Anville (Geographie Ancienne, tom. i. p. 25.) has fixed the fituation of Caucha, or Coca, in the old province of Gallicia, where Zosimus and Idatius have placed the birth, or patrimony, of Theodosius.

in a monarchy, or a popular state, acquire the possession of supreme power, may have raised themselves, by the superiority either of genius or virtue, above the heads of their equals: but their virtue is feldom exempt from ambition; and the cause of the successful candidate is frequently stained by the guilt of conspiracy, or civil war. Even in those governments which allow the reigning monarch to declare a colleague. or a fuccessor, his partial choice, which may be influenced by the blindest passions, is often directed to an unworthy object. But the most fuspicious malignity cannot ascribe to Theodofius, in his obscure solitude of Caucha, the arts, the defires, or even the hopes, of an ambitious statesman; and the name of the Exile would long fince have been forgotten, if his genuine and diffinguished virtues had not left a deep impression in the Imperial court. During the seafon of prosperity, he had been neglected; but, in the public diffress, his superior merit was univerfally felt and acknowledged. What confidence must have been reposed in his integrity, fince Gratian could truft, that a pious fon would forgive, for the fake of the republic, the murder of his father! What expectations must have been formed of his abilities, to encourage the hope. that a fingle man could fave, and restore, the empire of the East! Theodosius was invested with the purple in the thirty-third year of his age. The vulgar gazed with admiration on the manly beauty of his face, and the graceful majesty of his person, which they were pleased to compare with the pictures and medals of the emperor Trajan; whilst intelligent observers discovered, in the qualities of his heart and understanding, a

A. D. 379-

382.

more important resemblance to the best and

greatest of the Roman princes.

It is not without the most fincere regret, that His prudent and fuccess- I must now take leave of an accurate and faithful ful conduct of the Gothic guide, who has composed the history of his own times, without indulging the prejudices and paffions, which usually affect the mind of a contem-Ammianus Marcellinus, who termiporary. nates his useful work with the defeat and death of Valens, recommends the more glorious fubject of the ensuing reign to the youthful vigour and eloquence of the rifing generation (113). The rifing generation was not disposed to accept his advice, or to imitate his example (114); and, in the study of the reign of Theodosius, we are reduced to illustrate the partial narrative of Zosimus, by the obscure hints of fragments and chronicles, by the figurative style of poetry or panegyric, and by the precarious assistance of the ecclesiaftical writers, who, in the heat of religious faction, are apt to despise the profane virtues of fincerity and moderation. Conscious of these disadvantages, which will continue to involve a confiderable portion of the Decline and Fall of the Roman empire, I shall proceed with doubtful

> (113) Let us hear Ammianus himself. Hæc, ut miles quondam et Græcus, a principatu Cæsaris Nervæ exorsus, adusque Valentis interitum, pro virium explicavi mensura: nunquam, ut arbitror, sciens, silentio ausus corrumpere vel mendacio. Scribant reliqua potiores ætate, Quos id, si libuerit, aggressuros, procudere doctrinisque florentes. linguas ad majores moneo stilos. Ammian. xxxi. 16. The first thirteen books, a superficial epitome of two hundred and fifty-seven years, are now loft: the last eighteen, which contain no more than twenty-five years, fill preserve the copious and authentic history of his own times.

> (114) Ammianus was the last subject of Rome who composed a profane history in the Latin language. The East, in the next century, produced some rhetorical historians, Zosimus, Olympiodorus, Malchus, Candidus, &c. See Vossius de Historicis Gracis, l. ii. c. 18. de Histo-

ricis Latinis, 1. ii. c. 10, &c.

ful and timorous steps. Yet I may boldly pronounce, that the battle of Hadrianople was never revenged by any fignal or decifive victory of Theodofius over the Barbarians; and the expressive filence of his venal orators may be confirmed by the observation of the condition and circumstances of the times. The fabric of a mighty state, which has been reared by the labours of successive ages, could not be overturned by the misfortune of a fingle day, if the fatal power of the imagination did not exaggerate the real measure of the calamity. The loss of forty thouland Romans, who fell in the plains of Hadrianople, might have been foon recruited in the populous provinces of the East, which contained to many millions of inhabitants. The courage of a foldier is found to be the cheapest, and most common, quality of human nature; and fufficient skill to encounter an undisciplined foe, might have been speedily taught by the care of the furviving centurions. If the Barbarians were mounted on the horses, and equipped with the armour, of their vanquished enemies, the numerous studs of Cappadocia and Spain would have supplied new squadrons of cavalry; the thirty-four arienals of the empire were plentifully stored with magazines of offensive and defensive arms; and the wealth of Afia might still have yielded an ample fund for the expences of the war. But the effects which were produced by the battle of Hadrianople on the minds of the Barbarians, and of the Romans, extended the victory of the former, and the defeat of the latter, far beyond rhe limits of a fingle day. A Gothic chief was heard to declare, with infolent moderation, that, for his own part, he was fatigued with flaughter; but that he was aftonished C c how VOL. IV.

how a people, who fled before him like a flock of sheep, could still prefume to dispute the posfession of their treasures and provinces (115). The same terrors, which the name of the Huns had spread among the Gothic tribes, were inspired, by the formidable name of the Goths, among the subjects and foldiers of the Roman empire (116). If Theodosius, hastily collecting his scattered forces, had led them into the field to encounter a victorious enemy, his army would have been vanquished by their own fears; and his rashness could not have been excused by the chance of fuccess. But the great Theodosius, an epithet which he honourably deferved on this momentous occasion, conducted himself as the firm and faithful guardian of the republic. He fixed his head-quarters at Thessalonica, the capital of the Macedonian diocese (117); from whence he could watch the irregular motions of the Barbarians, and direct the operations of his lieutenants, from the gates of Constantinople to the shores of the Hadriatic. The fortifications and garrisons of the cities were strengthened; and the troops, among whom a fense of order and discipline was revived, were insensibly emboldened by the confidence of their own fafety. From these secure stations, they were encouraged to make frequent fallies on the Barbarians, who infested the adjacent country; and, as they were feldom allowed to engage, without some decisive superiority.

⁽¹¹⁵⁾ Chrysostom, tom. i. p. 344. edit. Montsaucon. I have verified, and examined, this passage: but I should never, without the aid of Tillemont (Hist. des Emp. tom. v. p. 152), have detected an historical anecdote, in a strange medley of moral and mystic exhortations, addressed, by the preacher of Antioch, to a young widow.

⁽¹¹⁶⁾ Eunapius, in Excerpt. Legation. p. 21.

⁽¹¹⁷⁾ See Godefroy's Chronology of the Laws. Codex Theodof.

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superiority, either of ground or numbers, their enterprises were, for the most part, successful; and they were foon convinced, by their own experience, of the possibility of vanquishing their The detachments of these invincible enemies. separate garrisons were gradually united into fmall armies; the fame cautious measures were purfued, according to an extensive and wellconcerted plan of operations; the events of each day added strength and spirit to the Roman arms; and the artful diligence of the emperor. who circulated the most favourable reports of the fuccess of the war, contributed to subdue the pride of the Barbarians, and to animate the hopes and courage of his subjects. If, instead of this faint and imperfect outline, we could accurately represent the counsels and actions of Theodofius, in four successive campaigns, there is reason to believe, that his confummate skill would deferve the applause of every military reader. The republic had formerly been laved by the delays of Fabius: and, while the splendid trophies of Scipio, in the field of Zama, attract the eyes of posterity, the camps and marches of the Dictator among the hills of Campania, may claim a juster proportion of the folid and independent fame, which the general is not compelled to share, either with fortune or with his troops. Such was likewise the merit of Theodosius; and the infirmities of his body, which most unseasonably languished under a long and dangerous disease, could not oppress the vigour of his mind, or divert his attention from the public fervice (118). Cc 2

⁽¹¹⁸⁾ Most writers insist on the illness, and long repose of Theodofius at Thessalonica: Zosimus, to diminish his glory; [Jornandes, to favour the Goths; and the ecclesiastical writers, to introduce his bapatiss.

Divisions, defeat and Submiffion, A.D. 379 382.

The deliverance and peace of the Roman provinces (119) was the work of prudence, rather of the Gothsthan of valour: the prudence of Theodofius was seconded by fortune; and the emperor never failed to feize, and to improve, every favourable circumstance. As long as the superior genius of Fritigern preserved the union, and directed the motions, of the Barbarians, their power was not inadequate to the conquest of a great empire. The death of that hero, the predecessor and master of the renowned Alaric, relieved an impatient multitude from the intolerable yoke of discipline and discretion. The Barbarians, who had been restrained by his authority, abandoned themselves to the dictates of their passions; and their passions were seldom uniform, or confiftent. An army of conquerors was broken into many diforderly bands of favage robbers; and their blind and irregular fury was not less pernicious to themselves, than to their enemies. Their mischievous disposition was shewn in the destruction of every object, which they wanted strength to remove, or taste to enjoy; and they often confumed, with improvident rage, the harvests, or the granaries, which foon afterwards became necessary for their own subfishence. A spirit of discord arose among the independent tribes and nations, which had been united only by the bands of a loose and volun-tary alliance. The troops of the Huns and the Alani would naturally upbraid the flight of the Goths; who were not disposed to use with moderation

⁽¹¹⁹⁾ Compare Themistius (Orat. xiv. 181.) with Zofimus (l. iv. p. 232.), Jornandes (c. xxvii. p. 649.), and the prolix Commentary of M. de Buat (Hist des Peuples, &c tom. vi. p. 477-552). The Chronicles of Idatius and Marcellinus allude, in general terms, to, magna certamina, magna multaque prælia. The two epithets are not eafily reconciled.

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deration the advantages of their fortune: the ancient jealousy of the Oftrogoths and the Visigoths could not long be fuspended; and the haughty chiefs still remembered the infults and injuries, which they had reciprocally offered, or fultained, while the nation was feated in the countries beyond the Danube. The progress of domestic faction abated the more diffusive sentiment of national animolity; and the officers of Theodofius were instructed to purchase, with liberal gifts and promises, the retreat, or service, of the discontented party. The acquisition of Modar, a prince of the royal blood of the Amali, gave a bold and faithful champion to the cause of Rome. The illustrious deserter foon obtained the rank of master-general, with an important command; furprifed an army of his countrymen, who were immersed in wine and fleep; and, after a cruel flaughter of the aftonished Goths, returned with an immense fpoil, and four thousand waggons, to the Imperial camp (120). In the hands of a skilful politician, the most different means may be successfully applied to the same ends: and the peace of the empire, which had been forwarded by the divisions, was accomplished by the reunion, of the Gothic nation. Athanaric, who Death and had been a patient spectator of these extraordi-Athanaric, nary events, was at length driven, by the chance A. D. 381, of arms, from the dark recesses of the woods of January 25. Caucaland. He no longer hesitated to pass the Danube; and a very considerable part of the subjects of Fritigern, who already felt the inconveniencies of anarchy, were eafily perfuaded

(120) Zosimus (l. iv. p. 232) styles him a Scythian, a name which the more recent Greeks seem to have appropriated to the Goths,

to acknowledge for their king, a Gothic Judge, whose birth they respected, and whose abilities they had frequently experienced. But age had chilled the daring spirit of Athanaric; and, instead of leading his people to the field of battle and victory, he wifely listened to the fair propofal of an honourable and advantageous treaty. Theodofius, who was acquainted with the merit and power of his new ally, condescended to meet him at the distance of several miles from Constantinople; and entertained him in the Imperial city, with the confidence of a friend, and " The Barbathe magnificence of a monarch. " rian prince observed, with curious attention, " the variety of objects which attracted his no-"tice, and at last broke out into a fincere and " passionate exclamation of wonder. I now be-" hold, faid he, what I never could believe, the glories of this stupendous capital! and as he " cast his eyes around, he viewed, and he ad-" mired, the commanding fituation of the city, " the strength and beauty of the walls and pub-" lic edifices, the capacious harbour, crowded " with innumerable vessels, the perpetual con-" course of distant nations, and the arms and " discipline of the troops. Indeed, continued " Athanaric, the emperor of the Romans is a " god upon earth; and the presumptious man, " who dares to lift his hand against him, is " guilty of his own blood (121)." The Gothic king

⁽¹²¹⁾ the reader will not be displeased to see the original words of Jornandes, or the author whom he transcribed. Regiam urbem ingressus est; miransque, En, inquit, cerno quod sæpe incredulus audiebam, samam videlicit tantæ urbis. Et huc illuc oculos volvens, nunc situm urbis commeatumque navium, nunc mænia clara prospectans, miratur; populosque diversarum gentium, quasi sonte in uno e diversis partibus scaturiente unda, sic quoque militem ordinatum aspiciens. Deus, inquit,

king did not long enjoy this splendid and honourable reception; and, as temperance was not the virtue of his nation, it may justly be sufpected, that his mortal disease was contracted amidst the pleasures of the Imperial banquets. But the policy of Theodosius derived more solid benefit from the death, than he could have expected from the most faithful fervices, of his The funeral of Athanaric was performed with solemn rites in the capital of the East; a stately monument was erected to his memory; and his whole army, won by the liberal courtefy, and decent grief, of Theodosius, enlisted under the standard of the Roman empire (122). The submission of so great a body of the Visigoths was productive of the most salutary confequences; and the mixed influence of force, of reason, and of corruption, became every day more powerful, and more extensive. Each independent chieftain hastened to obtain a separate treaty, from the apprehention that an obstinate delay might expose him, alone and unprotected, to the revenge, or justice, of the conqueror. The general, or rather the final, capitulation of the Goths, may be dated four years, one month, and twenty-five days, after the defeat A. D. 382, and death of the emperor Valens (123).

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est fine dubio terrenus Imperator, et quisquis adversus eum manum moverit, ipse sui sanguinis reus existit. Jornandes (c. xxviii. p. 650.) proceeds to mention his death and suneral.

(122) Jornandes, c. xxviii. p. 650. Even Zosimus (l. iv. p. 246.) is compelled to approve the generosity of Theodosius, so honourable to himfelf, and so beneficial to the public.

(123) The short, but authentic, hints in the Fasti of Idatius (Chron. Scaliger. p. 52.) are stained with contemporary passion. The fourteenth oration of Themistius is a compliment to Peace, and the consul Saturnious (A.D. 383.).

Gruthungi, or Oftrogoths, A. D. 386, October.

Invasion and The provinces of the Danube had been aldefeat of the ready relieved from the oppressive weight of the Gruthungi, or Oftrogoths, by the voluntary retreat of Alatheus and Saphrax; whose restless spirit had prompted them to seek new scenes of rapine and glory. Their deftructive course was pointed towards the West; but we must be satisfied with a very obscure and imperfect knowledge of their various adventures. The Offrogoths impelled feveral of the German tribes on the provinces of Gaul; concluded, and foon violated, a treaty with the emperor Gratian; advanced into the unknown countries of the North; and, after an interval of more than four years, returned, with accumulated force, to the banks of the Lower Danube. Their troops were recruited with the fiercest warriors of Germany and Scythia; and and the foldiers, or at least the historians, of the empire, no longer recognised the name and countenances of their former enemies (124). The general, who commanded the military and naval powers of the Thracian frontier, foon perceived that his fuperiority would be disadvantageous to the public service; and that the Barbarians, awed by the presence of his fleet and legions, would probably defer the passage of the river till the approaching winter. The dexterity of the spies, whom he fent into the Gothic camp, allured the Barbarians into a fatal snare. They were perfuaded, that, by a bold attempt, they might furprife, in the filence and darkness of the night, the fleeping army of the Romans; and the whole multitude was hastily embarked in a fleet

⁽¹²⁴⁾ Edvos To Exedence Tacir agrasore Zofimus, 1. iv. p. 252.

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of three thousand canoes (125). The bravest of the Offrogoths led the van; the main body confifted of the remainder of their subjects and foldiers; and the women and children fecurely followed in the rear. One of the nights without a moon had been selected for the execution of their delign; and they had almost reached the fouthern bank of the Danube, in the firm confidence that they should find an easy landing. and an unguarded camp. But the progress of the Barbarians was fuddenly stopped by an unexpected obstacle; a triple line of vessels, strongly connected with each other, and which formed an impenetrable chain of two miles and a half along the river. While they ftruggled to force their way in the unequal conflict, their right flank was overwhelmed by the irrefiftible attack of a fleet of gallies, which were urged down the stream by the united impulse of oars and of the tide. The weight and velocity of those ships of war broke, and funk, and dispersed, the rude and feeble canoes of the Barbarians: their valour was ineffectual; and Alatheus, the king, or general, of the Ostrogoths, perished, with his bravest troops, either by the sword of the Romans, or in the waves of the Danube. The last division of this unfortunate fleet might regain the opposite shore: but the distress and disorder of the multitude rendered them alike incapable, either of action or council; and they

(125) I am justified, by reason and example, in applying this Indian name to the μονοξέλα of the Barbarians, the single trees hollowed in the shape of a boat, πληθει μονοξύλων εμβιβασαντε. Zosimus; l. iv. p. 253-

Ausi Danubium quondam tranare Gruthungi In lintres fregere nemus: ter mille ruebant Per fluvium plenz cuneis immanibus alni.

Claudian, in iv. Conf. Hon. 623.

foon implored the clemency of the victorious enemy. On this occasion, as well as on many others, it is a difficult task to reconcile the pasfions and prejudices of the writers of the age of Theodosius. The partial and malignant historian, who misrepresents every action of his reign, affirms, that the emperor did not appear in the field of battle till the Barbarians had been vanquished by the valour and conduct of his lieutenant Promotus (126). The flattering poet, who celebrated, in the court of Honorius, the glory of the father and of the son, ascribes the victory to the personal prowess of Theodosius; and almost infinuates, that the king of the Ostrogoths was flain by the hand of the emperor (127). The truth of history might perhaps be found in a just medium between these extreme and contradictory affertions.

Settlement of the Goths in Thrace and Afia,! A. D. 383— 395.

The original treaty which fixed the settlement of the Goths, ascertained their privileges, and stipulated their obligations, would illustrate the history of Theodosius and his successors. The series of their history has imperfectly preserved the spirit and substance of this singular agreement (128). The ravages of war and tyranny had

(126) Zosimus, 1. iv. p. 252-255. He too frequently betrays his poverty of judgment, by difgracing the most serious narratives with trifling and incredible circumstances.

(127) — Odothæi Regis opima Retulit —

Ver. 632.

The opima were the spoils, which a Roman general could only win from the king, or general, of the enemy, whom he had slain with his own hands; and no more than three such examples are celebrated in the victorious ages of Rome.

(128) See Themistius, Orat. xvi. p. 211. Claudian (in Eutrop. l. ii. 152.) mention the Phrygian colony;

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had provided many large tracts of fertile, but uncultivated land, for the use of those Barbarians, who might not disdain the practice of agriculture. A numerous colony of the Vifigoths was seated in Thrace: the remains of the Ostrogoths were planted in Phrygia and Lydia; their immediate wants were supplied by a destribution of corn and cattle; and their future industry was encouraged by an exemption from tribute, during a certain term of years. The Barbarians would have deserved to feel the cruel and perfidious policy of the Imperial court, if they had fuffered themselves to be dispersed through the They required, and they obtained, provinces. the fole possession of the villages and districts assigned for their residence; they still cherished and propagated their native manners and language; afferted, in the bosom of despotism, the freedom of their domestic government; and acknowledged the fovereignity of the emperor, without submitting to the inferior jurisdiction of the laws and magistrates of Rome. The hereditary chiefs of the tribes and families were still permitted to command their followers in peace and war; but the royal dignity was abolished; and the generals of the Goths were appointed and removed at the pleasure of the emperor. An army of forty thousand Goths was maintained for the perpetual fervice of the empire of the East; and those haughty troops, who assumed the title of Fæderati, or allies, were distinguished by their gold collars, liberal pay, and licentious privileges. Their native courage was improved

-Ostrogothis colitur mistisque Gruthungis

Phryx ager and then proceeds to name the rivers of Lydia, the Pactolus, and Hermus.

proved by the use of arms, and the knowledge of discipline; and, while the republic was guarded, or threatened, by the doubtful sword of the Barbarians, the last sparks of the military flame were finally extinguished in the minds of the Romans (129). Theodosius had the address to persuade his allies, that the conditions of peace which had been extorted from him by prudence and necessity, were the voluntary expressions of his fincere friendship for the Gothic nation (130). A different mode of vindication or apology was opposed to the complaints of the people; who loudly censured these shameful and dangerous concessions (131). The calamities of the war were painted in the most lively colours; and the first symptoms of the return of order, of plenty, and security were diligently exaggerated. The advocates of Theodofius could affirm, with some appearance of truth and reason, that it was impossible to extirpate fo many warlike tribes, who were rendered desperate by the loss of their native country; and that the exhausted provinces would be revived by a fresh supply of soldiers and husbandmen. The Barbarians still wore an angry and hostile aspect; but the experience of past times might encourage the hope, that they

(129) Compare Jornandes (c. xx. 27.), who marks the condition and number of the Gothic Fæderati, with Zosimus (l. iv. p. 258.), who mentions their golden collars; and Pacatus (in Panegyr. Vet. xii. 37.) who applauds with false or foolish joy, their bravery and discipline.

(130) Amator pacis generisque Gothorum, is the prasse bestowed by the Gothic historian (c. xxix.), who represents his nation as innocent, peaceable men, slow to anger, and patient of injuries. According to

Livy, the Romans conquered the world in their own defence.

(131) Besides the partial invectives of Zosimus (always discontented with the Christian reigns), see the grave representations which Synesius addresses to the emperor Arcadius (de Regno, p. 25, 26. edit. Petav.). The philosophic bishop of Cyrene was near enough to judge; and he was sufficiently removed from the temptation of sear, or stattery.

would acquire the habits of industry and obedience; that their manners would be polished by time, education, and the influence of Christianity; and that their posterity would insensibly blend with the great body of the empire

(132).

Notwithstanding these specious arguments, Their hostile and these sanguine expectations, it was apparent to every discerning eye, that the Goths would long remain the enemies, and might foon become the conquerors, of the Roman empire. Their rude and infolent behaviour expressed their contempt of the citizens and provincials, whom they infulted with impunity (133). To the zeal and valour of the Barbarians, Theodohus was indebted for the fuccess of his arms: but their assistance was precarious; and they were sometimes seduced, by a treacherous and inconstant disposition, to abandon his standard, at the moment when their fervice was the most essential. During the civil war against Maximus, a great number of Gothic deferters retired into the moraffes of Macedonia, wasted the adjacent provinces, and obliged the intrepid monarch to expose his person, and exert his power, to suppress the rising slame of rebellion (134). The public apprehensions were fortified

(132) Themistius (Orat. xvi. p. 211, 212.) composes an elaborate and rational apology, which is not, however, exempt from the puerilities of Greek rhetoric. Orpheus could only charm the wild beafts of Thrace : but Theodosius enchanted the men and women, whose predecessors in the fame country had torn Orpheus in pieces, &c.

(133) Constantinople was deprived, half a day, of the public allowance of bread, to expiate the murder of a Gothic foldier: xivartes to Σχυθικον was the guilt of the people. Libanius, Orat. xii. p. 394. edit.

Morel. (134) Zosimus, l. iv. p. 267-271. He tells a long and ridiculous flory of the adventurous prince, who roved the country with only five

by the strong suspicion, that these tumults were not the effect of accidental passion, but the refult of deep and premeditated defign. It was generally believed, that the Goths had figned the treaty of peace with an hostile and insidious spirit; and that their chiefs had previously bound themselves, by a solemn and secret oath, never to keep faith with the Romans; to maintain the fairest shew of loyalty and friendship, and to watch the favourable moment of rapine, of conquest, and of revenge. But, as the minds of the Barbarians were not infensible to the power of gratitude, feveral of the Gothic leaders fincerely devoted themselves to the service of the empire, or, at least, of the emperor: the whole nation was infenfibly divided into two opposite factions, and much sophistry was employed in conversation and dispute, to compare the obligations of their first, and second, engagements. The Goths, who confidered themselves as the friends of peace, of justice, and of Rome, were directed by the authority of Fravitta, a valiant and honourable youth, distinguished above the rest of his countrymen, by the politeness of his manners, the liberality of his fentiments, and the mild virtues of social life. But the more numerous faction adhered to the fierce and faithless Priulf, who inflamed the pasfions, and afferted the independence, of his warlike followers. On one of the folemn festivals, when the chiefs of both parties were invited to the Imperial table, they were infenfibly heated by wine, till they forgot the usual restraints of discretion and respect; and betrayed, in the presence of Theodosius, the fatal secret of their domestic disputes. The emperor, who had been

horsemen, of a spy whom they detected, whipped, and killed in an old woman's cottage, &c.

the reluctant witness of this extraordinary controversy, dissembled his fears and resentment, and foon difmissed the tumultuous assembly. Fravitta, alarmed and exasperated by the infolence of his rival, whose departure from the palace might have been the fignal of a civil war, boldly followed him; and, drawing his sword, laid Priulf dead at his feet. Their companions flew to arms; and the faithful champion of Rome would have been oppressed by superior numbers, if he had not been protected by the feafonable interpolition of the Imperial guards (135). Such were the scenes of Barbaric rage, which difgraced the palace and table of the Roman emperor; and, as the impatient Goths could only be restrained by the firm and temperate character of Theodofius, the public fafety feemed to depend on the life and abilities of a fingle man (136).

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(135) Compare Eunapius (in Excerpt. Legat. p. 21, 22.) with Zosimus l. iv. p. 279.). The difference of circumstances and names must undoubtedly be applied to the same story. Fravitta, or Travitta, was afterwards consul (A. D. 401.), and still continued his faithful service to the eldest son of Theodosius (Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 467.).

(136) Les Goths ravagerent tout depuis le Danube jusqu'au Bosphore; exterminerent Valens et son armée; et ne repasserent le Danube, que pour abandonner l'affreuse solitude qu'ils avoient faite (Oeuvres de Montesquieu. tom. iii. p. 479; Considerations sur les Causes de la Grandeur et de la Decadence des Romains, c. xvii.). The president Montesquieu seems ignorant, that the Goths, after the deseat of Valens, never abandoned the Roman territory. It is now thirty years, says Claudian (de Bello Getico, 166, &c. A. D. 404.),

Ex quo jam patrios gens hæc oblita Triones, Atque Istrum transvecta semel, vestigia fixit Threicio funetta solo

The error is inexcusable; since it disguises the principal and immediate cause of the fall of the Western Empire of Rome.

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